

•
Historical Notices,

&c. &c. &c.

GRAISBERRY, PRINTER.

HISTORICAL NOTICES
OF THE
SEVERAL REBELLIONS, DISTURBANCES,
AND
ILLEGAL ASSOCIATIONS
IN IRELAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1822;
AND
A VIEW OF THE
ACTUAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY,
AND OF
THE EVENTS GENERATING, OR CONNECTED WITH, ITS PAST DISTURBANCES, AND
PRESENT DISCONTENTED AND DEMORALIZED SITUATION;
WITH SUGGESTIONS
FOR THE
RESTORATION AND MAINTAINANCE
OF TRANQUILLITY,
AND FOR
PROMOTING THE NATIONAL PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS.

“ Spero Meliora.”

DUBLIN :
RICHARD MILLIKEN, GRAFTON-STREET,
BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY,
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,
HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY,
AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

1822.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

PREFACE.

IN laying before the Public a plain statement of the events generating, or connected with, the several rebellions, disturbances, and illegal associations in Ireland, it is far from my intention to excite a single painful recollection, or angry feeling, or to revive party distinctions. I have been induced to publish them from a conviction, that it is imperatively necessary to disabuse the public mind of a generally received, but erroneous impression, that the present outrages in the South of Ireland have arisen from local and temporary causes;—and the performance of this difficult and ungracious task is the more indispensable, because it is evident that many ill consequences have resulted to Ireland, from the same impression having influenced the measures of Government and the Legislature, during the existence of former disturbances. For although, on those occasions, it was generally admitted, that this country had not been entirely free from tumult or discontent, for time immemorial; still, then, as well as at the present moment, this admission, which ought to have stimulated an inquiry into the *origin* of the evil, and the means of preventing a recurrence of it, only led to a general and ready conclusion, that the existing disturbances, like all preceding ones, arose from local

causes, and that like them, they would be speedily suppressed by a temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the rigorous enforcement of the Insurrection Act for a few months. But, unhappily, experience has afforded us repeated proof that these popular remedies only cauterized, but did not heal the public wounds; in consequence of which, it has now become not only more necessary, but more difficult, to renovate a constitution, alike injured by the excesses of the patient, and the repeated application of violent and temporary expedients.

If then we be wise, we shall no longer delay instituting a full and dispassionate inquiry into the *causes* of the *past*, as well as the *present* discontented, disturbed, and demoralized situation of Ireland; and have immediate recourse to such salutary measures as shall be permanently, as well as immediately, beneficial in their results. With this view, and in order to enable the reader to arrive at a correct knowledge of the past, as well as the actual state of Ireland, I have commenced this work with a review of the laws, habits, and condition of the ancient Irish, and have not only quoted historical facts from other writers, but have availed myself freely of their suggestions, whenever I conceived they would convey valuable information to the reader, or promote the public good.

I shall deeply regret if any worthy individual, of any religious persuasion, should imagine the body to which he may belong, to be spoken of disrespectfully in this work, in consequence of the freedom with which I

have made mention of public men, regardless of their political or religious *professions*. I can assure him, that in speaking of the events which have been brought about by disaffected, unprincipled, or uneducated persons, I have considered the latter, as a body, without reference to the liberal, enlightened, and loyal men, who are to be found in every religious persuasion; and it is for this reason, and that I may not be accused of misrepresentation, that I have given names, as well as dates. But, whilst I willingly accord thus much to every worthy individual to whom it may be due, I honestly avow, that I am alike indifferent to the applause, or censure, of the *unreflecting many*,—and the *factionous few* who lead them: in the words of Lord Yelverton, in the Irish House of Lords, on the 22d March, 1800,—“ I have long learned to despise POPULARITY, and if I had not, independently, a conviction of its emptiness, and idle and capricious value, the treatment extended to an Hon. and estimable friend of mine (Mr. Grattan) would have sufficiently instructed me of its worth. I have seen him stigmatized as a traitor, and if I may speak in more than figurative language, carried by a senseless mob half way to be hanged,—and the next moment adulated to the skies..... If there be any young man, now present, who feels enamoured of POPULARITY, that visionary and delusive good, I will give him a short lesson of instruction:—if he devote his whole life to the pursuit of some impracticable object, he will be sure to the close of his life to retain popularity; but if he turn to the pursuit

of some sober, solid, and possible good, some upstart and brawling politician will run a bar's length before him, and snatch the worthless and valued prize of popular estimation."

DUBLIN, *April* 19, 1822.

A REVIEW,

§c. §c.

“ An ingenious foreigner once observed to me, that he never saw a country in which so many proclamations were issued against malefactors, and the commission of crimes, as in Ireland, a *sure proof of the feeble execution of the laws.*”

Musgrave's Memoirs of Irish Rebellions, v. 1. p. 52.

“ When men enrol themselves for the purpose of resisting the law, whatever the pretext may be upon which they originally associate, the foulest crimes are generated in its progress; that which begins in anarchy ends in murder; and even murder itself, in the progress of outrage, may be only a preparation for the blacker horrors which have to ensue.”

Mr. Att. General Plunkett to the Grand Jury of Sligo, on the trial of the *Threshers*, 5th Dec. 1806.

“ Then (1784) as now (1810) the disease was referred to the severities of the Popery Code, and Tythe System—the remedy suggested in the repeal of both. But the alleged grounds of Irish insurrections are seldom real. The rebellion is raised first, and the grievance found afterwards; as between individuals of our nation, the quarrel often precedes the offence.”

A Sketch of the State of Ireland Past and Present, p. 15.

“ Let me assure you, after a vast deal of experience, Gentlemen, that *criminal violence like this, must be put down in the first instance, or not at all.*”

Chief Justice Bushe to the Kilkenny Grand Jury, March 30, 1822.

“ IF we consider the nature of the Irish customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them, must of necessity be rebels to all good government, destroy the com-

monwealth wherein they live, and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land in the world.* For whereas by the just and honourable law of England, and by the laws of all well-regulated kingdoms and commonwealths, murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and theft, are punished with death; by the Irish custom, or *Brehon Law*, the highest of these offences, was punished only by fine, which they called an *erick*. Therefore when Sir William Fitz William (being then Lord Deputy, 1589) told Maguire that he was to send a Sheriff into Fermanagh, being lately before made a county; “Your Sheriff (said Maguire) shall be welcome to me, but let me know his *erick* (or the price of his head) beforehand, that if they cut it off, I may cut the Erick on the county.”

Irish Brehon law.

Custom of Erick.

“As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, the weaker had never any remedy against the stronger, whereby it came to pass that no man could enjoy his life, his wife, his lands or goods in safety, if a mightier man than himself had an appetite to take the same from him. Whereby they were little better than cannibals who do hunt one another, and he that hath most strength and swiftness doth eat and devour all his fellows.”

Tanistry.

“By the Irish custom of Tanistry, the chieftains of every country, and the chief of every sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had some portions of land allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and cosheries, and other Irish

* See “A Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued,” &c. p. 126, by Sir J. Davis, Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, An. 1613.

customs, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure; and when the chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them, but their Tanisters, who were elective, and purchased their elections by strong hand. And by the Irish custom of *Gavel-kind*, the inferior tenantries were partable among all the males of the sept, both legitimate and illegitimate: and after partition made, if any one of the sept had died, his portion was not divided amongst his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity. *Custom of Gavelkind.*

“Neither did any of them in all this time *plant any gardens or orchards, inclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity*; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions.”

“And though their portions were ever so small, and themselves ever so poor (for gavelkind must needs in the end make a poor gentility) yet they scorned to descend to husbandry or merchandize, or to learn any mechanical art or service, whereby as their septs or families did multiply, *their possessions have been from time to time divided and subdivided, and broken into so many small parcels as almost every acre of land hath a several owner*, which termeth himself a *Lord*, and his portion of land his country:—Assuredly these Irish lords appear to us like glow-worms which afar off seem to be all fire; but, being taken up in a man’s hands are but silly worms. Besides these poor gentlemen were *so affected to their small portions of land*, as they rather chose to live at home by *theft, extortion,*

and *coshering*, than to seek any better fortune abroad ; which increased their septs, or surnames, into such numbers, as there are not to be found in any kingdom of Europe, so many gentlemen of one blood, family and surname, as there are of the O'Neals, in Ulster; of the Bourkes, in Connaught, or of the Geraldines and Butlers, in Munster and Leinster. And the like may be said of the inferior bloods and families; whereby it came to pass *in times of trouble and dissention, that they made great parties and factions, adhering one to another with much constancy, because they were tied together, vinculo sanguinis* : whereas rebels and malefactors which are tied to their leaders by no bond, either of duty or blood, do more easily break and fall off one from another. And besides, their *co-habitation in one country or territory*, gave them an opportunity suddenly to assemble, and conspire and rise in multitudes against the crown. And even now, in the time of peace, we find this inconvenience, *that there can hardly be an indifferent trial had between the King and the subject, or between party and party, by reason of this general kindred and consanguinity.*

*Coin and
Livery.*

‘ But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others, was that of *Coin and Livery*, which consisted in taking of man’s meat, horse-meat, and money, of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier; who, as the phrase of the Scripture is, “ did eat up the people as it were bread,” for that he had no other entertainment.....And every lord of a country, and every marcher, made war and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual, and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or Heathen kingdom.’* Davis, p. 131.

* If you look into the Parliament rolls of those times, which are mean between the 40th year of King Edward III. and the 30th Henry VI.

‘ This extortion of coin and livery was taken for their men of war : but the Irish exactions, extorted by the chieftains and tanistres by colour of their barbarous seignory, were almost as grievous a burden as the other, namely, *coshering*, which were visitations and progresses *Coshering.* made by the lord and his followers among his tenants ; wherein he did “ eat them (as the English proverb is) “ out of house and home ; ” *Sessings* of the Kerne, of his *Sessings.* family, called *Kernesty*, of his horses and horse-boys ; of *Kernesty.* his dogs and dog-boys, and the like. And lastly *Cuttings*, *Cuttings.* tallages, or spendings, high or low, at his pleasure ; all which made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villein ; and in one respect more miserable than bond-slaves. For commonly the bond-slave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond-slave.’

‘ Lastly, there were two other customs proper and peculiar to the Irish, which, *being the cause of many strong combinations and factions*, do tend to the utter ruin of a commonwealth. The one was *Fostering*, the *Fostering* other *Gossipred*.....In Ireland they put away all their *and Gossipred.* children to *Fosterers*, and the reason is, because in the opinion of this people, fostering hath always been a stronger alliance than blood.....The like may be said of *Gossipred* or confraternity. *Fosterers* and *Gossips*, by the common customs of Ireland, were to *maintain one another in all causes lawful and unlawful* ; which, as it is a combination and confederacy punishable in all well-governed commonwealths, so was it not one of the least *causes of the common misery of this kingdom.*’

we shall find the laws of principal consideration are against coin and livery, cess of soldiers, night-suppers, cumrick and the like extortions and lewd customs, which *the English had learned among the Irish.* Davis, p. 296.

‘ I omit their common repudiation of their wives ; their promiscuous generation of children ; their neglect of lawful matrimony ; *their uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging ; and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man.*’ Davis, p. 137. Anno 1612.

* * * * *

Arrival of
the English
in Ireland,
An. 1169.

‘ It will not be necessary to say more of the first settlement of the English in Ireland, than briefly to remind the reader, that about the year 1169 (not to speak of the kind of subjection which the Irish are said to have acknowledged to *Gurguntius* and some Brittan kings) Henry II. being himself distracted with French affairs, gave the Earl of Strongbow leave, by letters patent, to aide *Dermot Morrogh* king of *Leinster*, against the king of *Meath*. And this Earl marrying Eua the daughter of Dermot, was at his death made by him heire of his kingdome.’—Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary, p. 2.

1341.
Edw. III.

‘ About the year 1341, the English-Irish (or English Colonies) being degenerated, *first began to be enemies to the English ; and themselves calling a Parliament, wrote to the King (Edward III.) that they would not indure the insolencies of his ministers, yet most of the justices hitherto were of the English-Irish (or English borne in Ireland.)*’ Moryson, p. 2.

1391.
Richard II.

Sir John Davis (p. 33.) is of opinion, that Richard II. in the 18th year of his reign ‘ brought with him a sufficient power, (1,000 men at arms, and 30,000 archers) to have reduced the whole island, *if he had first broken the Irish with a war, and after established the English laws among them ; and not have been satisfied with their light submission only, wherewith in all ages they have mocked and abused the state of England.*

But the Irish Lords, knowing this to be a sure policy to dissolve the forces which they were not able to resist, (for their ancestors had put the same trick and imposition upon King John, and King Henry II.) in an humble and solemn manner did their homages, and *made their oaths of fidelity* to the Earl Marshal, (who was authorised by special commission to receive them) laying aside their girdles, their skins, and their caps, and falling down at his feet upon their knees."

' With these humilities they satisfied the young king, and by their bowing and bending avoided the present storm, and so broke that army which was prepared to break them. For the King having accepted their submissions, received them in *osculo pacis*, *feasted them*, and *given the honor of knighthood to divers of them*, did break up and dissolve his army, and returned into England, "with much honour and small profit," saith Froissard. He was no sooner returned into England but those Irish lords laid aside their masks of humility, and *scorning the weak forces which the king had left behind him*, began to *infest the borders*, in defence whereof the Lord Roger Mortimer, being then the king's lieutenant, and heir-apparent to the crown of England, *was slain*.'—Davis, p. 33.

In the time of King Henry VII. the Deputy, "Sir Ed. ^{10th Hen.} Poynings," made wilful murder high treason; he caused ^{VII.} the marchers ^{1494.} to *book their men*, for whom they should answer, and restrained the making war or peace, without special commission from the state.

In the indenture of submission with Sir Ant. St. Le- ^{33d Hen.} ger, (Davis, p. 180) all the Irish lords acknowledged King ^{VIII.} Henry VIII. to be their Sovereign Lord and King, and ^{An. 1541.} desire to be accepted of him as subjects. They *confess the*

The King's *king's supremacy in all cases, and utterly renounce the supremacy in all cases* pope's jurisdiction ; which I conceive to be worth the acknowledging, and the Pope's jurisdiction in Ireland renounced.

It was also registered "that horsemen and kern should not be imposed upon the common people, to be fed and maintained by them ; that *the master should answer for his servants, and the father for his children* ; that cuttings should not be made by the lord upon his tenants, to maintain war upon his neighbours, but only to bear his necessary expenses,' &c.—Davis 182.

11th Eliz. 1568. Sir Henry Sidney abolished the pretended and usurped captainships of the Irish lords, and all exactions and extortions incident thereunto. Again, because the inferior sort were loose and poor, and not amenable to the laws, he provided by another Act, that "*five of the best and eldest persons of every sept should bring in all the idle persons of their surname, to be justified by the law.*" Moreover, to give a civil education to the youth of this land, in the time to come, provision was made by another law, that there should be one free-school, at least, erected in every diocese of the kingdom. He also reduced the Irish countries into shires, and placed therein sheriffs and other ministers of the law. He also caused divers good laws to be made, and performed sundry other services, tending greatly to the reformation of this kingdom.

Free-Schools established.

The reader will not consider it surprising that, in 400 years, the situation of the native Irish had been little or not all improved, in consequence of the laws, habits, and superior civilization of the English settlers, when he learns that, "prior to the reign of James I. the jurisdiction of their courts extended little beyond the *pale*, when their decisions, being thus limited, could have had little

weight. So limited indeed was this jurisdiction, that in June 1600 (430 years after the arrival of the English under Strongbow) Fynes Moryson writes (p. 75) that, "At this time the county of *Dublyn*, on the south side ^{An. 1600.} of the river *Liffy*, was in effect wholly ouerrunne by the rebels; the county of *Kildare* was likewise possessed or wasted by them. The county of *Meath* was wasted, as also the county of *West Meath* (except the barony of *Deluin*) and the county of *Louth*; so that in the *English pale*, the towns having garrisons, and the lands from *Drogheda* (or *Tredagh*) to the *Nauan*, and thence back to *Trym*, and so to *Dublyn*, were only inhabited, which were also like to grow waste, if they were further charged with the soldiers."

It was now that the political influence of the Roman Catholic religion first began to manifest itself; the introduction of the reformed religion, by increasing the antipathy of the native Irish to the English, was a new source of calamities; and *religion* was made a *pretence* for *rebellion*. "Prior to the reformation in Ireland," says Mr. Parnell, in his 'Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics,' p. 7, "the Roman Catholic religion, stimulated neither by scepticism, contradiction, or persecution, had long ceased to have any influence on political events. We have the authority of Archbishop Brown for stating, that the *ignorance* of the Catholic Clergy was extreme, and that they were frequently *incapable of performing the common offices of religion*."

In a letter from Sir J. Davis to the Earl of Salisbury, An. 1607, he states, "that as for the vicarages, they are so poorly endowed as ten of them, being united, will scarce suffice to maintain an honest minister. For the churches, they are for the most part in ruins; such as

were presented to be in reparation are covered only with thatch. Bnt the incumbents, both *parsons and vicars*, did appear to be such *poor, ragged, ignorant creatures*, (for we saw many of them in the camp) as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of those livings, albeit many of them are not worth above 40s. per annum. The king is patron of all the churches. The incumbents are popish priests, instituted by bishops authorized from Rome, yet many of them, like other old priests of Queen Mary's time, in England, *ready to yield to conformity*, p. 241.

1569. The political influence of the Roman Catholic religion first displayed itself in the year 1569, when "the Fitz Gerald's of Munster raised a rebellion, in which the Byrne's, Tooles, and Cavenaghs joined, but they were subdued by Sir Wm. Drury, and were all attainted the 27th and 28th of Eliz.

James Fitz Gerald published a manifesto *in justification of this rebellion*, in which he said, "*It was for the glory of God, and of Christ, whose Sacraments the heretics deny; for the glory of the Catholic Church, which the heretics falsely assert was not known for many ages.*"

An. 1595. Hugh O'Neill raised a rebellion in 1595, which lasted till the end of Elizabeth's reign. It was called "Tyrone's Rebellion," and branched out into three different civil wars, according to Borlase.

Sir Richard Cox allows that this rebellion arose from "the distaste of the old Irish potentates, and all old English settlers, who had been dispossessed of their sovereign rights, and that religion was only made a pretence for rebellion."

Fynes Moryson, cap. 1, part 2, page 3, says, "In this earely age, *Religion rather than Liberty first began to be made the cloake of ambition*, and the Roman locusts, to maintaine the pope's usurped power, breathed every where fier and sword, and not onely made strong combinations against those of the reformed religion in all kingdomes, but were not ashamed to proclaime and promise Heauen for a reward, to such cut-throates as should lay violent hands on the sacred persons of such princes."*

"Religion," in fact, "was nothing to the purpose. The English never mentioned it; the Irish only *appealed to it as a known means of acquiring money and supplies from the Pope and the King of Spain.*" Parnell's Hist. Ap. 50.

"Yet, (observes Mr. Parnell, p. 85,) since we find the *Catholic religion* assuming a considerable degree of consequence, as *a principle of discontent* in the succeeding reign, *there can be no doubt that it had gained considerable hold of men's minds during the reign of Elizabeth.* It is true, that at the *beginning* of the war, the being a papist was no cause of suspicion; all the towns were peopled with Catholics and remained loyal; the queen's army consisted mostly of Catholics, and were generally commanded by Catholic officers; yet *latterly* apprehensions were entertained of the loyalty of the cities and towns; at the same time this is mentioned as a matter of surprise. Sir R. Cox says, *the very cities and towns were staggering, and so frightened by the threats of the clergy, that no trust could be reposed in them.*" O'Sullivan mentions it *as a sub-*

* For the truth of this let the reader refer to Speed, Rapin, and Hume, and to the Bull of Excommunication and Deposition against Queen Elizabeth by Pope Paul V.

*ject of regret, that only a few of the papists in the queen's army revolted. Yet this shews, (says Mr. Parnell, the apologist for the Catholics) that there was a certain degree of disaffection connected with religion. Camden also relates, that many of the papists, who had been loyal, sent to Rome for a dispensation for this crime. When the young Earl of Desmond was sent by Elizabeth to Ireland, the people of Munster at first received him with congratulations, but deserted him on discovering that he was a Protestant."**

' These are the most material instances we can collect of the progress of Catholic bigotry during Elizabeth's reign, *which prove that it existed in no great degree, yet that it did exist and had increased.*' Parnell, p. 86.

' O'Neil, though indifferent to religion himself, was too politic to forego so favourable a pretext, and declared himself *the champion of the Roman Catholic religion*; in consequence, supplies of money and men were obtained from the Pope and the King of Spain. Vicars and Jesuits were sent over to Ireland, who, by the customary arts of zealots, awakened religious fanaticism, and gave effect to a Bull of excommunication issued against Elizabeth by the Pope. Mac Egan, the Pope's Vicar, never allowed any Irish papist that served the queen to be pardoned when taken prisoner.' Parnell, p. 87.

James I.
1602.

" The first object of James I. was to destroy not only the power but the very existence of the old Irish and old

* I refer the reader to Pacat. Hib. (p. 91.) or to Smith's Hist. of Cork, vol. 2. p. 75,) for the brief but interesting particulars of the immediate change in the reception of the earl by the Catholic people, on his going to church.

English chieftains, and this he accomplished with admirable wisdom. He espoused the cause of their oppressed subjects against their chieftains. He held out to them the blessing of equal law, of the inviolability of their persons, of the secure possession of their properties, and its descent to their children. He strengthened defective titles, and abolished all distinctions between English and Irish; ‘whereupon,” says Sir John Davis, ‘such comfort and security was bred in the hearts of all men, as ensured the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland.” Parnell, p. 95.

This happy state of things was of short duration, for “Among the lower ranks, when King James died, there was a legendary record of English barbarities; the power of the old Irish, and of the old English chieftains, had been destroyed by the wisdom of James; yet, among these septs, there were many who valued the direct gratification of pride afforded by princely consequence, to the indirect gratification of pride which is acquired through the medium of property, who *preferred to be poor tanists, elected by their clan, rather than rich landlords dependant on law.*” Parnell, p. 111.

‘And, independent of *the new influence of Religion,* Charles I. 1625. which now rapidly increased, we are to consider that *many previous causes of discontent continued to exist.* We are not to omit, *the unappeased hatred,* which the Irish subjects bore to their English conquerors. The injuries done to individuals by confiscations and plantations, particularly those of Ulster. The *regrets* of the descendants of the *Irish chieftains for the loss of their principalities,* and the *ever wakeful ambition* of the house of O’Neil.’..... *Jesuits and priests were sent from Spain and Rome, who knew how to turn these preposterous mistakes of government*

to the best account, &c.—Hence the Catholic religion, which in Ireland had till now been characterised by *a native mildness, a spirit of toleration, and a composure peculiar to old establishments, acquired an illiberal, enthusiastic, and sanguinary spirit.*”—Parnell, p. 120.

Rebellion
of 1641.

I shall not harrow the reader's feelings with any detail of the dreadful atrocities committed in the too memorable rebellion of 1641 in Ireland, and I shall only briefly advert to the infamous arts which were used to goad the Irish people into it. In treating of it, Sir R. Musgrave observes (v. i. p. 32 of "*Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland*") that, "besides the Bull issued by Pope Urban VIII. (the *friend* of science and of Galileo) in 1628, the same pontiff, during the existence of that dreadful civil war, the better to inflame his votaries, fulminated another, dated 25th May, 1643, containing the following paragraphs: "In imitation of their *godly* and worthy ancestors, to endeavour, by *force*, to deliver their thrall'd nation from the *oppressions and grievous injuries of the heretics*, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened." And in which he grants *absolution from all sins, crimes, transgressions, &c. &c.* to all those who will gallantly do in them what lieth, to extirpate and totally root out all those workers of iniquity, who, in this kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and were always striving to *infect the mass of Catholic purity with the pestiferous leaven of heretical contagion.*"

"Before this," observes Mr. Parnell, p. 121, "it is impossible to call the rebellions of the Irish, Catholic rebellions, when they were in fact principally opposed by Catholics; but, *after this, it would be idle to deny that Catholic bigotry had a very large share in exciting and prolonging the rebellions in Ireland.* That writer would be an injudicious defender of the Catholics, who should deny the *fact*,

when perhaps *there is not a more lamentable instance of the weakness of the human mind*, when subservient to religious bigotry, than the absurdity and intemperance with which the Catholics acted, when they surrendered their interests to the influence of the Nuncio Ranuncini, and in fact *sold their country to the Pope.*"

"We pass over," says the able author of a Sketch of 1688. the State of Ireland, Past and Present, (5th Ed. p. 4, which, in my future numerous references, I shall designate by the title, "A Sketch, &c.") the alternate ravages of Charles and Cromwell, to arrive at the almost Theban contest of James and William, the lawful, but intolerant and intolerable possessor of the throne, and the unamiable, but enlightened and necessary instrument of his expulsion.....By conquest and by capitulation the triumph of William was complete—as complete as he desired. Ireland indeed was not tranquillized, but his throne was secured.....Though James had abandoned the Irish, the Irish had not abandoned James. *Against his undisturbed predecessors* they had maintained desultory, but implacable war—to him *expelled and outlawed* they exhibited, *as were their character and custom, a perverse loyalty—like their perverse rebellion,—blind to its object, atrocious in its measures.*"

"While James and his power lingered in Ireland he as- 1689. sembled a pseudo parliament: he had chosen the members; he chose the measures—the act of repeal, justifying all rebellion, breaking all faith—the *act of attainder, proscribing thousands by name, and millions by inference—the act for liberty of conscience, licence to the papists, hardship to the reformed.*—The whole closed with the subversion of established institutions—dilapidation of churches, spoilation of bishopricks—*denunciation, plunder, and oppression of the whole protestant community.*"

1703. “ VII. From the papist—thus *lately tyrannical, now subdued—the protestant thought it justifiable to subtract all power.** Obsolete penalties were revived, and new restraint enacted—of their ambition from the senate—their partiality from the magistracy—their force from the field; that influence, often misused, should not be regained, possessions were forfeited—acquisitions forbidden: that disaffection—as it was natural—should be impotent, weapons of offence were stricken from their hands, and the means of resistance removed, as its causes were multiplied.

“ The retaliation was complete: not so its justification. William had ratified the articles of Limerick, and broke them; a policy useful to him and his near successors, fatal to us; ensuring temporary tranquillity, and lasting dissension. *Contempt would have extinguished the catholic superstition, proscription has perpetuated it.*

“ The sword had failed while both had swords—the law had failed while it existed but for one; *the alliance of the law and the sword effected something.* It has been called a peace and a truce—it was a pause—‘to the Catholics,’ said Mr. Grattan eloquently, ‘a *sad servitude*; to the Protestants a *drunken triumph*,’—but had James prevailed, it had been to the *Protestants* neither sad nor servitude—but *death!* to the Catholics a triumph, *not drunken, but bloody!* This experience deduces from the ferocious bigotry of that sect at that day—this, history writes or warrants—this, Mr. Grattan, in his candour and intelligence, does not doubt.”—A Sketch, &c. p. 8.

* Mr. Parnell is quite indignant at their doing so, in his “ Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics,” p. 45. He says, “ So *perverse* are the feelings of the *vulgar*, that the English Protestants seemed to rise from under the wheel of persecution with renewed vigour to *persecute*.”—Editor.

“ In the year 1729 the popish bishops of Ireland applied for, and obtained a bull from the Pope, to raise money by the sale of indulgences, to be speedily applied to restore James III. to his rights. The whole of this plot is to be found in the 6th vol. of the first edition of the Journals of the House of Commons, p. 342. 1729.

“ It appears that a number of popish prelates and other ecclesiastics, being assembled at the house of Teigue M’Carthy, alias Rabagh, titular bishop of Cork, Connor Keefe, bishop of Limerick, presented a letter to the said M’Carthy, from Dr. Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, informing him, that his Holiness the Pope, had at last complied with the request of the Irish archbishops and bishops, in granting them an indulgence for the above purpose.

“ The purport of the bull was this: ‘ That every communicant duly confessing, and receiving the sacrament on the Patron days of every respective parish, and every Sunday, from the first day of May to September, having repeated the Lord’s Prayer five times, and once the Apostles’ Creed, and upon paying two pence each time, was to have plenary indulgence for his sins; and all approved confessors had full power to absolve in all cases, with intent God would *speedily place James the Third on the throne of England*. Every parish priest was to pay £5. towards this fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the Pretender had an agent in each province to collect it.’

“ Some of the papers of these traitors were discovered, and seized, by which the conspiracy was detected.”—Musgrave, Vol. 1, p. 35.

It is worthy of remark, that prior to the breaking out of the White Boy system, viz.

“ In the year 1757 there appeared a very singular and unquestionable proof that those doctrines of the Romish Church, which had disturbed the peace of all Protestant countries ever since the Reformation took place, existed in full force in Ireland.

Oath of al-
legiance.
1757.

“ In that year, a bill was introduced into the House of Lords to secure the Protestant succession, in which there was an oath of allegiance.

“ Thomas Burke, titular bishop of Ossory, and public historiographer to the Dominican order in Ireland, made the following observations on that oath :—After animadverting on the severity of setting aside the different foreign branches of the Steuart family, he says, “ Would “ it not exceed the greatest imaginable absurdity, that a “ Catholic priest, who instructs his people in the will of “ God, from scripture and tradition, by his discourse “ and actions, and nourisheth them with the sacrament “ of the church, should swear *fidelity to King George,* “ *as long as he professeth a heterodox religion, or has a* “ *wife of that religion?* That then, and in that case, “ the same Catholic priest ought constantly *to abjure the same King to whom he had before sworn allegiance.*”—Musgrave, vol. 1. p. 44.

Origin of
Levellers.

About this time the peasantry rose in Munster. “ The grievances they complained of were *the enclosing of commons, the turning out the old tenantry in order to throw many farms into one, and the encouragement given to grazing ; and levelling inclosures and houghing bullocks*

were their first employments, and *Levellers*, not *Whiteboys*, their first *nom de guerre*."—An Inquiry whether the Disturbances in Ireland have originated in Tithes, &c." p. 3.

ORIGIN OF THE WHITE BOYS.

"In the year 1759, and under the administration of ^{White Boys,} 1759. the Duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insurgency appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifested itself by the numerous and frequent risings of the *lower class of Roman Catholics*, dressed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated *Whiteboys*; but they were encouraged, and often headed by persons of their own persuasion of some consideration. They were armed with guns, swords, and pistols, of which they plundered Protestants, and they marched through the country, in military array, preceded by the musick of bag-pipes, or the sounding of horns. In their nocturnal perambulations they *enlisted or pressed into their service every person of their own religion*, who was capable of serving them, and bound them by oaths of *secrecy*, of *fidelity*, and *obedience to their officers*, and those officers were bound by oaths of *allegiance to the French King*, and *Prince Charles, the Pretender to the Crown of England*, which appeared by the confession and the informations of several of the insurgents, some of whom were convicted of high treason, and various other crimes."

The *pretext* they made use of for rising and assembling ^{Pretext.} was, to redress the following grievances: *The illegal enclosure of commons*, the extortion of tythe proctors, and

the *exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy*,—though it appeared that they were deeply concerned in encouraging and fomenting them, in the commission of outrages.”

1762. ‘ In the year 1762, the Marquis of Drogheda was sent to command a large district in the province of Munster,* and made Clogheen in the county of Tipperary his head quarters, at that time much disturbed by the *White Boys*, who used to assemble *in bodies of from 500 to 2000*.”

Father Nicholas Sheehy, a White Boy leader, hanged. His Lordship, during his residence there, took the famous *Father Nicholas Sheehy*, who had been a noted leader of the White Boys, and was afterwards *hanged at Clonmel*.

Mistaken lenity of Chief Justice Aston. In this year they committed such dreadful excesses in the South of Ireland, that Sir Richard Aston, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was sent down with a special commission to try them, and “ *the mistaken lenity* which he shewed them in the course of his “ circuit was such, that it encouraged them to persevere “ in the commission of enormities for some years after.”—Musgrave, vol. 1. p. 36.

ORIGIN OF “HEARTS OF OAK BOYS.”

“Hearts of Oak.” 1763. “ *The Hearts of Oak* were excited to insurrection in the year 1763, by a remnant of the feudal system, well known by the appellation of the *six days’ labour*, and by a grand

* His Lordship is now alive. 1822.

jury cess, laid on at the spring assizes in the county of Armagh, which they deemed excessive.

One of the first proceedings of those insurgents was to swear several gentlemen, on the commons of Armagh, not to lay on more than a farthing an acre land cess towards the repairs of high roads, and not levy any money for private roads.

ORIGIN OF "THE HEARTS OF STEEL."

"The discontents which excited the *Hearts of Steel*,^{1770.} in the year 1770, to take arms in the counties of Antrim and Down, had their source in the new setting of a great estate, the terms of which being the payment of large fines, a considerable proportion of the tenants were unable to obtain renewals, and had recourse to violence against such persons as ventured to take their farms."—An Inquiry whether the Disturbances, &c. &c. p. 4 and 5.

ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

MUSGRAVE, v. i. p. 54.

"In the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with the French, Spaniards, and Americans; when the combined and naval armies of the enemy were superior in point of number to the channel fleet, when constant and well grounded apprehensions were entertained that Ireland would be invaded, the loyalty of her parliament,^{1779.} Volunteers.

trembling for the fate of the empire, left the kingdom almost destitute of any military force for its defence. At the same time what little commerce she then enjoyed was completely stagnated by privateers, which constantly hovered on her coast. In this critical juncture some maritime towns, dreading that they might be plundered by the latter, applied to government for a military force for their defence, but received in answer, ‘that they must arm and defend themselves.’

“ This gave rise to the *Volunteers*, of which numerous bodies were immediately raised, who at first supplied themselves with arms at their own expense; and government, wishing to encourage the laudable spirit which the Irish nation shewed, distributed immense quantities among them.

Volunteers
soon deviated from
the original
object of
their institution.

“ It was to be lamented that they soon began to deviate from the end of their institution, and to form *provincial meetings, for the purpose of new modelling the state*. They marched in regular procession to the Rotunda, on the 10th of November 1783, where they opened their session, and entered into deliberation on new modelling the Constitution.

“ On the first institution of the *Volunteers*, some low persons, *who turned out notorious traitors in the late rebellion*, assumed the rank of officers; and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, who headed them at first, having retired, were succeeded by men destitute of both, *and well known to be disaffected*. Of this description were James Napper Tandy, Bacon the tailor, Matthew Dowling, *and many others concerned in the late rebellion, whom the lenity of government has saved from the vengeance of the law*.

“ It is stated in the Report of the Secret Committee, and it is strictly true, that the *national guards*, who in the year 1792 meditated the subversion of the Constitution, sprung from the Volunteers.” Musgrave, v. i. p. 59.

“ In this tumult the Catholic was again exigent, and the Protestant indifferent or favourable; *further relaxation ensued, and more general tumult.*” A Sketch, &c. p. 14.

ORIGIN OF “ PEEP-OF-DAY BOYS AND DEFENDERS.”

(MUSGRAVE, v. i. p. 62.)

“ As a great conflagration is often kindled by a small spark, so the feuds and altercations between the *Peep-of-day-Boys and Defenders*, the former *Presbyterians*, the latter *Romanists*, which occasioned much strife and bloodshed, has been ascribed to a trifling dispute between two individuals.*

1784.
Peep-of-day Boys
and De-
fenders.

“ From the inveterate hatred which existed between the two sects, they soon began to enlist under the banners of religion; and as the Roman Catholics shewed uncommon eagerness to collect arms, the Presbyterians began to disarm them.

The former assumed the appellation of *Defenders*—the latter *Peep-of-day Boys*, because they visited the

* Other causes are also assigned in Sir R. Musgrave's Work.

houses of their antagonists at a very early hour in the morning to search for arms; and it is most certain that in doing so, they often committed the most wanton outrages, insulting their persons and breaking their furniture.

“ Sobriety,* secrecy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving assistance to each other on all occasions, seem to have been leading objects with the Defenders; who were exclusively of the Roman Catholic religion.”

“ They knew each other by secret signs: they had a grand master in each county, who was elected at a general annual meeting, and they had also monthly meetings. They had parochial and baronial committees, and a superior one to which they appealed; and from a connection which afterwards appeared to have subsisted *between them and the Catholic committee in Dublin*, we may infer that they were much influenced by it. We cannot be surprised at this, when it is very well known, that the famous Father Quigley (or O’Coigley, who was hanged at Maidstone in 1798) was very active among the Defenders. As he interested himself very much in their concerns, it is not improbable that their organization was on the French plan, as it has been discovered that he made a practice of going often to France.”

Father
Quigley.

1792. “ In the autumn and winter of 1792, so many barbarous outrages were committed by them in the county of Louth, that at the spring assizes following, held at Dundalk, twenty-one defenders were sentenced to die;

* It was remarked, that prior to the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, and of the Insurrection in 1803, the lower classes were sober beyond all precedent.—Author.

twenty-five to be transported ; twelve to be *imprisoned* a certain time, for having *conspired to murder* certain persons ; thirteen indicted for murder put off their trials ; and bench warrants issued against eighty persons, who absconded."

I request the reader's particular attention to the following remarkable circumstance, on which any comment would be superfluous.

"On the 3d of January, 1793, a few persons who called themselves the *Roman Catholic* inhabitants of the county of Louth, assembled at Greenmount near Castle Bel-*lingham*, entered into strong resolutions against the *Defenders*, and exhorted all persons of their persuasion to abstain from their combinations, and their unwarrantable practices ; and they published them in the *Dublin Journal*. It was signed by sixty laymen, most of them in very low situations, by eighteen popish priests, and by Dr. Reilly, the titular Primate of Ireland."

"The following persons were among the laymen who signed it: One Coleman of Dundalk, who corresponded with one Sweetman, *Secretary to the Catholic Committee* in the month of August 1792, relative to *protecting the Defenders then in prison, and for whom he employed counsel in their defence*, as stated in the Report of the secret Committee of the House of Lords.

"Another man of the same name, *convicted of lying in wait, and conspiring with others to murder Pat. McNeil, Esq.* a magistrate, because he had taken an active part against the *Defenders*."

“ Pat. Bryne of Castletown, Esq. a man of fortune, but very seditious, who was fined £1000. and imprisoned two years, for having published an inflammatory pamphlet, and who has since *absconded, having been deeply engaged with the Defenders.*”

“ John Hoey and Anthony Marmion, *convicted of treasonable practices, as Defenders, and hanged at Dundalk in the summer of 1798. Thomas Markey, condemned to die ; but this sentence was mitigated to transportation : Bartholomew M‘Gawley, transported for Defenderism : one M‘Allister, deeply concerned with the Defenders : John Conlan, a Defender, who afterwards became an approver : and it is most certain, that the majority of those who signed that paper were Defenders.*”

“ In short we may venture to assert, that before the end of the year 1793, *they had spread the seeds of combustion in most parts of Ireland.*”

ORIGIN OF THE “ RIGHT BOYS.”

(MUSGRAVE, v. 1. p. 50.)

Origin of
Right Boys.
1786. “ The *Right Boys* succeeded the *White Boys* in the province of Munster, in 1786, and resembled them in every respect, except in the title which they assumed. Their proceedings, *chiefly directed against the Protestant clergy, were not the wild and extravagant efforts of rash and ignorant peasants, but a dark and deep-laid scheme planned by men skilled in the law, and the artifices by which it might be evaded.* Such men suggested to the

farmers to enter into a combination, under the sanction of an oath, *not to take their tythes, or to assist any clergyman in drawing them.*" Their primary object.

"Some of the Protestant gentlemen, hoping to exonerate their estates of tythes, by the machinations and enormities of these traitors, secretly encouraged them; and others connived at their excesses, till they began to oppose the payment of rent, and the recovery of money by legal process, and then they came forward in support of the law." Their further objects.

"They published a *Tything Table*, according to which they pretended that they would pay the clergy, but to which they did not adhere, and if they had done so, it would not have afforded them a subsistence."

"These traitors soon proceeded from one act of violence to another, and established such a system of terror, that landlords were afraid to distrain for rent, or to sue by civil process for money due by note: they took arms from Protestants, and levied money to buy ammunition. They broke open gaols, set fire to hay and corn, and even to houses, especially to those occupied by the army."

"This spirit of riot and insurrection occasioned the passing of a law in the year 1787, drawn by Lord Clare, entitled, "An Act to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths:"—and the introduction of it into the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Cork and Kerry, occasioned such a revolution in the morals and manners of their inhabitants, and was so efficient in preserving social order, that some of the principal landholders in them declared openly in Parliament, Remedy.

“ *that their estates were increased two years purchase in value by that salutary statute.*” Musgrave, v. 1, p. 52.

The highly talented author of a Sketch of the State of Ireland, p. 14, in speaking of the outrages of this period, says, “ Evils real or imaginary, the excuses—evils monstrous and inevitable, the consequences. *They evaded the law,—they escaped the sword; at last they defied both.* The nights were nights of plunder—the days of punishment—and both of horror.”



ORIGIN OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

(MUSGRAVE, v. 1, p. 129.)

Origin of
United
Irishmen,
1791.

“ In the years 1791 and 1792, Rabaud St. Etienne, the bosom friend of Brissot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French National Assembly, *passed some time between Dublin and Belfast, sowing the seeds of future combustion.*

The first society of United Irishmen at Belfast, published their plan or prospectus in *The Northern Star*, in Oct. 1791, though it had been fabricated in Dublin.

According to “ the constitution of the Society of United Irishmen of the city of Dublin at first agreed upon,” “ This Society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a Brotherhood of Affection, an identity of interests, *a communion of rights, and an union of power*

among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining *an impartial and adequate representation of the nation and Parliament.*" Their alleged object.

According to their declaration of Dec. 30, 1791, Musg. 234, v. 2. "The object of the institution is to make an *United Society of the Irish nation*; to make all Irishmen citizens; all citizens Irishmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more reasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common right, should know each other, and should act together."

"Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must *collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion,* must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.*" See the Constitution of the United Irishmen.—Musgrave, v. 2, p. 322. Their design.

In the letters from Theo. Wolfe Tone, conveying the Dublin United Irishmen's Resolutions and Declarations to a republican friend in Belfast, Tone says, "My unalterable opinion is, that *the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England.* I believe that influence will be extended while the connection between the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that *that opinion is for the present too hardy, though a little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions.* I have not said one word that looks like a wish for *sepa-*

* Witness 1798.

ration ; though I give it to you as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be regeneration to this country." Musgrave, v. i. p. 130.

Leaders of
United
Irishmen
connected
with the
Defenders
in 1797.

It is stated in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, made in 1797, "That the *Leaders and Directors* of the *United Irishmen* are now, and have been for some time past, anxiously engaged in *uniting with them* a class of men, who had formerly *disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery, and murder, under the appellation of Defenders*, and that the Committee had reason to apprehend that, *in a certain degree, they had succeeded.*"

The following observation is to be found in the Report of the House of Commons, made in 1798, page 9 ; and in the course of my inquiries I have found it to be strictly true :

Apply this
to all simi-
lar associa-
tions, past
and to
come.

" That the counties in which Defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to their new doctrines ; and, in the summer of 1797, *the usual concomitants of the treason, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join the party,* began to appear in the midland counties."

" By a Report, made the 14th of August 1797, by a provincial Meeting of Delegates of Ulster, it appears that *there was a number of Societies of United Irishmen in North America, whose professed object was to assist Ireland.*"

Can any reflecting mind be surprised at the events which occurred in Ireland in 1798 ?

ORIGIN OF THE "ORANGEMEN."

(MUSGRAVE, p. 82.)

"As the Defenders not only became terrific to individuals, in most parts of the kingdom, by the constant ^{Orange-}perpetration of nocturnal robbery and assassination; as they ^{men.} formed a systematic combination, and supplied themselves ^{1795.} with arms, for the obvious purpose of subverting the Constitution in Church and State; and as they were encouraged and directed by the Catholic Committee, and the United Irishmen, the Protestants of the Established Church, to defeat their malignant designs, found it necessary to excite and cherish a spirit of loyalty, which had began to languish and decline in a very alarming degree, and to rally round the altar and the throne, which were in imminent danger."

As a refutation of the many falsehoods and calumnies uttered against the institution, the members of the *Orange Society* published a declaration of their principles in the newspapers.....All that I have to request of the unprejudiced reader, is to compare them with the principles avowed in the "*Declaration of the Society of United Irishmen.*"

" TO THE LOYAL SUBJECTS OF IRELAND.

"From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the laws,

"We the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of *Orangemen*, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate

our principles, for we know that our honor and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to avow those principles, and to declare to the world the objects of our institution.

“ We have long observed, with indignation, the efforts that have been made to *foment rebellion in this kingdom by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of United Irishmen.*

“ We have seen, with pain, the lower orders of our fellow subjects *forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.*

“ And we have viewed with horror the *successful exertions of miscreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.*

“ We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other, to MAINTAIN THE LAWS, AND SUPPORT OUR GOOD KING, against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country; and by so doing, shew to the world, that there is a body of men in the island who are ready, in the hour of danger, to stand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors, under the great King William.”

“ Fellow-subjects, we are accused with being an Institution founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods; for we solemnly assure

you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts; we regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may. We have no enmity, but to the enemies of our country.

“ We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under his Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they shall point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe shall presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land. To these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

Signed,

*Thos. Verner,
Edward Ball,
John Claud. Beresford,
Wm. James,
Isaac Dejoncourt.”*

Musg. v. 2, p. 227.

The author of this work is not an Orangeman, but he fervently wishes that *these were the principles of every man in the United Empire.*

“ In the month of May 1797, a numerous body of delegates from the several Orange lodges in the province of Ulster, waited on Hall Waring, Esq. of Waring’s-town, near Banbridge, and authorised him in their name to address General Nugent, then commanding at Lisburn, and to inform him that, should an insurrection or an invasion take place, they would assemble to the number of

1797.
Offers of
service to
Govern-
ment from
20,000
orangemen.

20,000 at four days notice, and march under his command to any part of Ireland, where their service might be required."

" I have been assured, by a very respectable gentleman of the county of Tyrone, that its inhabitants were so much intimidated by anonymous threatening letters, and by the assassinations committed there, that in the lordship of Caledon, containing 10,000 people, the whole of them, except about 6 or 8 persons, were sworn; but the loyal subjects having entered into the *Orange societies*, and having gained courage and confidence by their united strength, renounced with indignation these traitorous combinations, *invigorated the arm of the civil magistrates*, and *completely checked the progress of treason*."

" The Hon. General Knox commanded at Dungannon in the summer of 1798, and he assured Government that the institution of Orange lodges was of infinite use, and that *he would rest the safety of the North on the fidelity of the Orangemen who were enrolled in the yeomanry corps*." Musg. v. 1, p. 86.

In reply to some observations which were made on ' *Orangemen*' in the House of Commons, on July 15, 1814, the Right Hon. Robert Peel is reported to have said, " That Orange Societies had existed in Ireland, he believed, since the year 1795, and had always been peculiarly obnoxious and *objects of marked hostility to the factious and disloyal*. He was far from saying that *none but the factious and disloyal* objected to them; and he believed many loyal, moderate, and sensible persons used their influence in discouraging such and similar associations, and disapproved of them as tending to create irritation, and to extend and exasperate party feeling:—but,

he would again repeat, that from the *loyal principles* which they professed, *and their firm and determined enmity to the views of the factious and disloyal, to that class of persons they were peculiarly offensive.*"



ORIGIN OF THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE.

(MUSG. v. 1. p. 90.)

'The Abbé O'Connor says, in the life of his grand-
father Charles O'Connor, the Irish antiquary, page 330, Catholic
Committee.
"That he, Dr. Curry, and Mr. Wyse of Waterford, first
thought of establishing a Roman Catholic Committee in
the city of Dublin, in the year 1757."

They, at some period which I cannot ascertain, assimilated to the confederated Catholics assembled at Kilkenny in the year 1641; for members duly elected and returned by towns and districts, in almost every part of the kingdom, sat in it; gentlemen of landed estate had a right to a seat there; and they soon began to regulate their proceedings according to the form and solemnity of a parliament.

These particulars are fully proved by the following Resolution, which they entered into the 15th day of Nov. 1783, 1783.

"Sir Patrick Bellew, in the Chair.

"Resolved, That we feel ourselves particularly calle

upon to declare, that this Committee consists of every Roman Catholic Nobleman and Gentleman of landed property, and of other gentlemen *chosen by their fellow subjects of that persuasion in Dublin, and other principal parts of the kingdom.*"

"Resolved, That thus *constituted*, we have, *for several years past, been the medium through which the voice of the Roman Catholics of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto.*"

1791. At a session held by them on the 10th of February, 1791, styled "a meeting of the general Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland," they resolved, "That the several papers now read, containing resolutions and instructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a committee of eight, who shall report thereon to this committee, on Friday the 18th instant."

The Lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Sir Patrick Bellew, were at the head of the committee till the beginning of the year 1792, when they, and above 60 respectable Roman Catholic gentlemen, *disgusted and alarmed at their intemperate proceedings*, seceded.

Some of its demagogues, who had revolutionary designs, fearing that the moderation and loyalty of these noblemen and gentlemen would check them in their furious career, made the committee so unpleasant to them, that they prudently resolved on retiring from it. Lord Fingal was voted out of the chair, in rather a tumultuous manner, and Thomas Broughall was voted into it, on which his Lordship said, "Sir, I wish you luck with it."

(In like manner, in the course of a debate amongst the Catholic committee, on the 2d Feb. 1811, Lord French told the committee, " You were appointed for a specific purpose ; your commission is ended.—Ireland *is sick of this business !* Do you mean to erect yourselves into a perpetual parliament ?"*) Lord Fingal, and many others at the same time, also seceded from the Catholic committee.

Thus it ever has been, and thus it ever will be, that in all unauthorized associations, where there are *secret* as well as *avowed objects* in view, the factious, the turbulent and revolutionary part will eventually estrange or get the upper hand of the respectable and well-meaning members.)

" The proceedings of the committee were then governed by Edward Byrne, John Keogh, Randal M'Donnell, Thomas Broughall, John Sweetman, and Richard M'Cormick. They had three secretaries ; the two latter, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, who turned out to be notorious traitors.

In the month of July 1792 Theobald Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, and Richard M'Cormick, *were sent by the Catholic committee on a mission* to some of the northern counties, which were disturbed by the Peep-of-day Boys and Defenders, to effect a reconciliation between them. In their way they were joined by Samuel Neilson, an active and artful demagogue, who was professedly a Presbyterian, but who, as well as Tone, a reputed Protestant,

* Page 17, of " A Speech of the Right Hon. W. W. Pole in the House of Commons, 3d Feb. 1812."

was destitute of all religious principles. They pretended to be actuated by motives of the purest patriotism and benevolence ; but as Tone, Neilson, and M'Cormick, appeared afterwards to be notorious traitors, we cannot be at a loss to know their real views.

It required some time and unabated exertion to overcome the strong antipathy which existed between the Papists and the lower classes of Presbyterians ; and it probably could not have been accomplished, if the *leaders of the conspiracy* had not attached to their cause some of the clergy of both.

From the men who composed this mission, it is evident, that the Catholic committee and the United Irishmen were closely connected and labouring in the same vineyard. Tone was at the same time the secretary of the former, and the original framer and the chief leader of the latter in Dublin ; Neilson in Belfast ;—Keogh and M'Cormick were the most active members of the former.

It is most certain that the first leaders in the north, though regarded as Presbyterians, were in fact infidels, who endeavoured to extinguish all religious principle by the dissemination of French doctrines, the circulation of Paine's *Age of Reason*, and publications of that stamp.

The Presbyterians engaged in the conspiracy were chiefly confined to the counties of Down and Antrim ; and even there none of the most respectable members of that order were concerned in it. Some of the most profligate dissenting ministers* in those counties, who became

* I annex their names, and the punishments which they suffered.

partizans of the United Irishmen, prevailed on the rabble of their persuasion, and such of them as were devoid of principle and property, to join in the plot; but very few, if any, of the really religious Presbyterians entered into it

As soon as the massacres perpetrated at Vinegar Hill* and Scullabogue† were known in the North, numbers of Presbyterians, of whom some had been disaffected, and others lukewarm, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, trembling for their safety, became Orangemen; and General Knox, depending on their zeal and sincerity, embodied them, and procured arms for them from Government. Musg. p. 88, v. 1.

The rebellion of 1798 proves that the Romanists meant to make use of the Presbyterians merely as an engine to overturn the constitution, and to have extirpated the whole order of Protestants when they had succeeded. As there are *many good and loyal subjects among both these religionists*, I think it right to apologise to them, and to assure them, that I allude only to *the ignorant, the unprincipled, and uneducated ranks of both.*"

* "I could not ascertain the number of Protestants who were massacred in the rebel camp on Vinegar Hill, and its vicinity; but I have been assured that they exceeded 500." Mr. Gordon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, p. 159, allows, that they fell little short of 400. Musg. v. 1, p. 461.

† It appears, on the evidence of different persons, that 184 Protestants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue, and that 37 were shot in the front of it. Musg. v. 1. p. 525.

DISSENTING MINISTERS IN THE COUNTIES
OF DOWN AND ANTRIM IMPLICATED
IN THE REBELLION OF 1798.

(SEE MUSGRAVE, v. 2, p. 238.)

COUNTY DOWN.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Abode.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Porter.....	Gray Abbey.....	Hanged.
Warwick.....	Kercubben.....	Do.
Simpson	Newtownards....	Transported.
Sinclair	Do.	Do.
Ward	Kellurchy.....	Do.
Birch	Saintfield.....	Do. to America.
Adair	Cumber	Proclaimed,
Hull	Bangor.....	Do.
Mc.Mahon.....	Hollywood	Do.
Dickson	Portaferry.....	Confined to Fort George.
Barber.....	Rathfriland.....	Two years imprisonment.

COUNTY ANTRIM.

Acheson.....	Glenarm.....	Tried, acquitted.
Hill.....	Ballynure	Tried, partly guilty.
Mc.Neill.....	Clogh.....	Accused of being a leader ; sentenced to transport himself.
Glendy.....	Mahera	Accused, ordered to leave the kingdom.
Wate.....	Laine	Taken up, never tried.
Henry	Connor	Do.
Kelburne	Belfast.....	Do. discharged.

The following Roman Catholic Priests are mentioned in Sir R. Musgrave's work, so often quoted in this compilation, as having been implicated in the rebellion in Ireland in 1798 :

- Michael Murphy, of Ballycarnew...Killed at the battle of Arklow.
- ClinchDo. at the battle of Vinegar Hill.
- John Murphy.....Killed at the action of Gore's Bridge. He was aid de camp to his namesake, who was hanged at Tullow.
- Two Priests (names unknown) ...In vestments, were killed at the battle of Newtownbarry.
- One Do. (name unknown).....In vestments, shot in the action near Clogh, by Captain Duncan, of the royal Irish artillery.
- Kearns.....Hanged at Edenderry.
- Philip Roche Do. at Wexford.
- Prendergast Do. at Monastereven.
- John Murphy, of Boulavogue..... Do. at Tullow.
- John RedmondHanged.*
- CowleySuffocated in his hiding place in a bog in the co. of Sligo.
- Dixon.....
- Hurrard.....
- Thomas Munnelly } Transported.
- O'Coigly, or Quigley.....Hanged at Maidstone, 1798.

Priests—Edward Murphy, Bryan Murphy, Kearns, Byrne, Dease, Francis Kavanagh, James Conroy of Ardergoil (county Mayo) and Klane, commonly called “the blessed Priest of Bannow,” were all implicated in the Irish rebellion of 1798.

G

* I have not discovered where.

The preceding painful details are necessary, as they may serve as a warning to future legislators to judge of men by their actions, and not by their declarations; to adopt prudent and vigorous measures on the first appearance of *illegal association* among any body of men, be their designation and avowed objects what they may; and to persevere actively and unceasingly in enforcing those measures until "they have killed, not scotched the snake."

The talented author of "A Sketch of the State of Ireland, Past and Present, page 18," thus briefly, but energetically and ably, points out THE INEVITABLE result of all such *anti-social associations*, when allowed to rear their head.

1798. "The hordes of *petty rebels*, that for twenty years, under *twenty barbarous names and pretences*, had harassed the land, now sank into one great union against all civil and ecclesiastical institutions—the legacy of the American contest paid by France. The conflagration was general; war on every side—in *Ulster of politics—elsewhere of bigotry*. The *dissenter fought—the papist massacred—the loyalist cut down both*. Some provocation there may have been—much vengeance there was, but where most, if any provocation, least slaughter, no cruelty: where no previous oppression, most blood, much torture. The details of this rebellion—realizing all we read of 1641—I bequeath to the bigotry of both parties—its objects, however, are interesting to the enlightened; that of the *dissenters—a republic; that of the papists—popish ascendancy; of both, connexion with France, separation from England*.

Its results are, too important;—*Union with England*, Union between Great Britain and Ireland,
 separation from France, and *both*, it would seem, Jan. 1801.
eternal.”

ORIGIN OF THE “YEOMANRY” IN IRELAND.

(MUSGRAVE, v. 1, p. 193.)

It would have interrupted the narrative of the march Yeomanry,
 of events which produced the rebellion of 1798, if I had 1796.
 adverted sooner to this invaluable body of men.

‘ In the autumn of 1796, Government having proposed to all loyal subjects to embody themselves as yeomen corps, similar to those in England, and subject to the control of Government, the proposal was embraced with alacrity in many parts of the kingdom.’

‘ This wise and salutary measure, which proved the salvation of the kingdom, *was opposed by many of the leading Romanists in Dublin, and by all the active members of the Catholic committee* ; for when the church-wardens and magistrates attended at the different vestry-rooms, for the purpose of carrying this excellent system into execution, one or other of these *leaders*, attended by a mob of the Popish rabble, attempted to overpower them by vociferation and numbers.’

‘ They then entered into resolutions against it, and published them in the jacobin prints, which teemed with

invectives against Government for having instituted it;—and for the same reason they calumniated the Orange societies.’

‘Notwithstanding the decided opposition which the Romanists gave to this very excellent institution, which saved the kingdom from impending destruction, the first estimate laid before parliament for 20,000 men, was filled up immediately. In the course of six months it rose to 37,000;—and during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000, and they were all to be depended on, for as very great disaffection appeared among the popish yeomen, the different corps were quickly purged of such of them as were known to be disloyal. Of a corps of 50 Catholic yeomen at Castledermot, there were but five who were not implicated in the rebellion; and their lieutenant, Mr. Daniel Caulfield, was committed by Government. All the Roman Catholics in the Rathangan corps joined the rebels: Molloy, their lieutenant, and several more, were hanged; many were pardoned under the proclamation, and others of them absconded.’—Musgrave, vol. i. p. 325.—For further instances, read the work itself.

Insurrec-
tion of
1803.

“The Earl of Hardwicke’s succeeded the Union administration. (‘A Sketch, &c.’ p. 20.).....Inactivity on the one part, was mildness and conciliation;—sullenness on the other, content and gratitude. On this calm of conciliation and content burst forth another rebellion—

short in its duration—contemptible in its actions—but *serious in its unsounded depth and unknown extent*. The policy of that day under-rated the danger—and the peril of Ireland was forgotten in a squabble between the Governor and the General.

“ Ireland sunk back into her silence—and all again was *mild and grateful and hollow*, till the departure of Lord Hardwicke, bequeathing to his successor insurrection in five counties, and discontent in twenty.

“ That person was John Duke of Bedford, amiable 1806. and honourable, but by *party connections* unfitted for the situation of viceroy.....The advent of the Whig viceroy was hailed by the voices that had before hailed the coming of the French.....To his first levee crowded, in the levelling audacity of their joy, persons of every rank except the highest—of every description but the loyal.....The viceroy, awakened to his sense and dignity, and the chancellor (George Ponsonby) illustrious by his birth and talents, were disgusted at the vulgar fellowship, and alarmed at the traitorous insolence. They did something, and should have done more, to the repression of both.

“ The intreaties and intrigues of the ministry, their late partizans, and the adverse opinion of many of their own sect, could not dissuade the Catholics from another parliamentary appeal for indulgence. I cannot blame their resolution; I did not think it untimely; I can never think it unjust; but I blame, I denounce as traitorous to the constitution, and ruinous to their cause, the speeches then published by their pretended and pernicious friends—fatal advocates—if, indeed, *their object was Catholic emancipation, and not Catholic insurrection!*”

ORIGIN OF THE “THRESHERS.”

Origin of
the
Threshers.
1806.

I do not take upon me to assert that the publication of the speeches just alluded to had an injurious tendency on the minds of the lower orders, who are ever ready to take advantage of the slightest *pretext* for entering into illegal associations for the redress of their grievances, but it was at this time that the outrages of the *Threshers* commenced, principally in the western counties of Ireland, though various symptoms of the same spirit afterwards manifested themselves in some of the northern, and also in some of the southern counties, and in February 1807, in the county of Kildare, at so short a distance as 14 miles from Dublin.

Their ob-
jects.

In the month of December, 1806, a special commission was sent into the counties of Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, Longford and Cavan, to try the “Threshers,” who, according to Mr. Serjeant (now Judge) Moore’s address to the Longford jurors, “were sworn not to pay tythes, except to the parson,—not to pay dues to the Roman Catholic clergyman beyond a certain specified amount;—and not to pay more than certain prices to the working people: (thus fixing a *maximum* for the wages of labourers and manufacturers) not to prosecute;—to obey the laws of the Threshers; and to attend whenever called upon.” Resolutions were also posted up, addressed ‘*to the steady friends of liberty,*’ which contained invitations of a dangerous tendency, and assertions of “*foreign assistance*” of the most unequivocal nature.

They appeared in arms at night, wearing handkerchiefs or straw round their hats, or straw caps, and white shirts over their clothes.

In some instances they carded the backs of the persons whose houses they visited, with a carder's wool comb; the same as the "*Carders* of 1809." See Ridgeway's Report of the Trials of the Threshers, in December 1806.

On the 9th of July 1807 (see the Morning Post) "Sir Arthur Wellesley, in pursuance of his notice, rose for leave to bring in a Bill *for the suppresssion of Insurrection in Ireland*, and to prevent the disturbance of the peace in that country. The House would remember, that the circumstances which preceded and attended the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, had rendered stronger measures than the established laws afforded, necessary in that country. An Act was therefore passed by the Irish Parliament in 1796, to prevent unlawful assemblies, and to authorize the Lord Lieutenant, on a report of the magistrates, to proclaim any county where disturbances existed. This act had proved effectual for the suppression of the insurrection, as appeared from the acknowledgment of the leaders of that insurrection, before a Committee of the Irish Parliament. The bill he proposed to bring in contained the same provisions as the insurrection act, with respect to the powers of the Lord Lieutenant, &c.; but in order to prevent hardships to the subject, the bill then moved for required that persons so arrested should be tried at the quarter sessions, by the magistrates and assistant barrister, *assisted by a King's counsel, a serjeant* specially sent down for that purpose.

1807.
The Insurrection Act
brought in
by Sir A.
Wellesley.

Register of Arms Bill. 1807. “ Besides this bill, he meant to move for leave to bring in another, to prevent improper persons from keeping arms, and authorizing magistrates to search for arms.

“ These bills had been prepared by his predecessor, Mr. Elliott, Chief Secretary to the Duke of Bedford.”

Sir A. Wellesley is reported to have said, that he thought of proposing *seven* years as the time of duration of these bills, but his mind was not quite made up as to that point.

Mr. Grattan declared, there were meetings of a treasonable nature ;— and a French party in Ireland in 1807. Upon the passing of the Insurrection Bill (for two years and until the end of the then next Session, &c.) in the House of Commons, on the 27th of July 1807, Mr. Grattan, as stated in the reports of the debates, declared, “ that he was informed, that meetings of a treasonable nature were held in Ireland. He did not mean to accuse his countrymen of treason or disaffection, but *he was certain that there was a French party in Ireland*; it was against them, and *not against Irishmen*, that the operation of the Bill was directed; and *sooner than run a risk of losing the constitution altogether*, he would take upon himself his full share *in common with his Majesty’s Ministers*, (he was then in opposition) of the responsibility which would attach to the measure.”*

* Mr. W. Pole thought himself justified, on the ground of restored tranquillity, to allow the Act to expire in 1810. Mr. Peel found it necessary to resort to it in 1814, (54 Geo. III. cap. 180) and to continue it in 1817, (by the 57th Geo. III. cap. 50) Mr. Grant did not consider the further continuance of it necessary, and allowed it to expire in 1818, and opposed the Galway Petition for its re-enactment in the year 1820. It was again found necessary to re-enact it in Feb. 1822.

ORIGIN OF THE "RIBBONMEN."

The ferocious wretches who have disgraced their country and humanity under the name of *Ribbonmen*, first associated in the counties of Down, Armagh, Antrim, Tyrone, Fermanagh, &c. against the Orangemen. They afterwards extended their outrages eastward and into Connaught, and set themselves in array against proctors, canterers of farms, rack-rents, &c.

Origin of
Ribbon-
men, 1808.

The "*Carders*" of 1809 were a branch of the same tree, and associated on the same pretext in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Roscommon and Mayo, but made a practice of carding with wool combs the backs of those persons whom they supposed to be hostile to their views.

Carders,
1809.

The "*Shanavats and Caravats*" who disturbed the peace of the counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, Limerick, and part of Cork, were, at the commencement, fighting factions, opposed to each other; but they terminated, like all the other associations, against tythe-proctors, &c. Truly may it be said, that the commencement of illegal association, as well as of strife, "is as the letting out of water,—we know not where it may end."

Shanavats
& Caravats,
1810-11.

The "*Moll Doyle*" and "*Padreen Gar's Men*" of 1814, were also rustic hostile factions in the beginning, but terminated like every other unconstitutional association, in every outrage subversive of the public tranquillity.

Moll Doyle
and Pa-
dreen Gar's
Men, 1814.

There are several other appellations under which the Insurgents have appeared; but, as I have enumerated the principal associations, the names of the minor ones are of no consequence; for it is difficult, if not impossible to

ascertain the precise period of the first display or periodical return of the insurrectionary spirit, in consequence of the multifarious appellations and pretexts under which the disaffected have associated together.

Caravats
and Carders
1814.

On proposing the "Irish Preservation of the Peace Bill," in the House of Commons, the Right Hon. Robert Peel is reported to have said, "that a letter had been put into his hands that day (July 8, 1814) by an Hon. Bart. the Member for the Queen's County, (Sir H. Parnell) which stated, that the Caravats were levying contributions of 30s. and 40s. each from the little farmers every night, and seizing arms and ammunition wherever they could be found. He had also letters in his possession, representing that the *Carders* were in constant activity through the county of Westmeath, and that the unfortunate inhabitants (whose offence was, perhaps, no more than by their industry being able to give a higher rent to their landlords than others,—their loyalty,—or their refusal to join these lawless bands) were in unceasing apprehensions of assassination, or having their little cabins burnt over their heads."

1814.
Six convictions in
Westmeath,
for swearing
to be true to
Bonaparte.

On the third reading of this bill, July 19, 1814, Mr. Peel is stated to have asserted, "that he had read an *oath*, for which no less than *six convictions took place* at the assizes of Westmeath, and the purport of which was '*to be true to Bonaparte!*' He had hoped that peace would have overpowered and overcome all such absurd speculations as adherence to the despot of another country, but he had recently learned that *similar combinations were still forming in Ireland*. A memorial had been presented to the Lord Lieutenant, signed by 60 of the most respectable individuals of the county of Tipperary, 18 of whom were magistrates, and the first name signed was that of Lord

Landaff (in opposition at the time) the brother of the representative of that county in the House, the object of which memorial was, to persuade the Government to bring forward the present measure."

In 1817, the Insurrection Act was in force in the counties of Louth, Westmeath and Tipperary; and in the month of May in that year, on the representation of Mr. Peel, then chief secretary for Ireland, parliament continued the Act for another year. 1817.

I beg leave, with the most profound humility, to express my regret that Parliament negatived Sir John Newport's motion of the 20th June, 1817, "that an address be presented to his His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying his Royal Highness to give directions to *his Majesty's ministers*, during the prorogation of Parliament, to inquire into the state of Ireland, and to lay before the House such information on the subject as would enable it, early in the next session, to apply some effectual remedy to the evils under which that country now suffered." June 1817.
Sir J. Newport's motion for Ministers to inquire into the state of Ireland.

In this year the south west part of Ireland was much disturbed by *Ribbonmen*. On Nov. 6, the high sheriff of the county of Limerick, at the request of 27 magistrates, convened a meeting of the county, in order to devise the best means of enforcing the due administration of the laws. In the county of Galway the outrages were still more general and alarming than in the county of Limerick, so much so, that Mr. James Daly, member for the county of Galway, "stated to the house, the disturbed state of that part of Ireland with which he was connected. In the district adjoining Roscommon the magistrates had engaged, with the aid of 60 of the mili- 1819.
Ribbonmen.

June 28, 1820.
Motion of Mr. Daly, member for Galway county.

tary, to keep the peace in that district, but that was refused them by the Government. *After that refusal the disaffection spread considerably.....* Towards the middle of November the whole county was organized, and *encouraged by the inactivity of the Government*, they commenced the attack of gentlemen's houses; upwards of 70 were so attacked. The Government then put 13 baronies of the eastern part of the county of Galway under the Peace Preservation Bill. In the month of November 60 men could not be spared, but in the February following the Government sent 3,500, and the whole county was overspread by them; previously to which the rebels, for so he might call them, had, with a force of 12 or 1500 men, regularly attacked and burned a village. They had attacked the police barracks, and in one instance 1500 of them maintained a regular battle with the police for 5 hours. He had the authority of one of the Lords Justices for saying, that the Insurrection Act, or or some other strong measure, was become absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the country. The county was at present covered with troops, and yet outrages continued to be committed; he entreated the House to consider, whether when the *long nights came on, matters would not be worse?*"

He concluded by moving, "that a select Committee be appointed to examine into the *progress and existence of disturbances in Ireland*, and *whether it be necessary to grant to the Government of the country any additional power?* and to report thereon to the house."

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald supported the motion.

Mr. Grant is reported to have replied, "that the felt it his duty, speaking the sentiments of the Lord Lieu-

tenant and the Government of Ireland, that there was no ground whatever for the Insurrection Act. He felt bound to oppose the motion, not merely because it was *brought on so late in the session*,—not merely because he was hostile to the supposition of the Honourable Gentleman, that only what were called *strong measures* could be salutary, but because the bill which the Honourable Gentleman recommended *was contrary to that principle on which, in his opinion, the Government of Ireland ought to be conducted.*” Mr. Grant next described the provisions of the Insurrection Act, and then proceeded to say that “the honourable mover, in laying the grounds for his motion, had spoken much of the disturbances in Ireland. He (Mr. Grant) *was not informed to that effect. By the accounts which he had received, it appeared that Ireland was in a state of great tranquillity.* He was never disposed to disguise evils and dangers, but he felt that it was his duty not to exaggerate them.”

Sir John Newport rose “for the purpose of expressing his approbation of the conduct of his Majesty’s ministers on this occasion, for their conduct was beyond panegyric :—*they had shewn the people of Ireland that they intended to treat them as if they were worthy of the whole benefits of the Constitution.*”

The question was put, and (unhappily for Ireland) negatived without a division.

What have the *people* of Ireland shewn in return for the amiable, but mistaken lenity of Mr. Grant?

It is deeply to be lamented that the spirit of outrage, which was at that time manifesting itself so openly in the county of Galway, was not checked and subdued

at its commencement ; and, by the re-enactment of the Insurrection Act, prevented from extending itself to the alarming and truly appalling extent it has since done in the south of Ireland ; it was a moment when such a vigorous interposition was peculiarly necessary, for frequent experience, unhappily, has proved, that it is worse than vain, it is destructive of social order to expect that the ordinary dispensation of the laws of the land can put down the savages who set all laws, human and divine, at defiance ; and who, even in Africa, would be considered as without the pale of civil society, and would be hunted down like beasts of prey.

Origin of
the present
disturb-
ances,

It has been sedulously reported, and generally credited, that the present violations of the law originated with the tenantry of Lord Courtenay, in the county of Limerick, in consequence of the arbitrary conduct of his agent, Mr. Hoskins, who, subsequently to the peace of 1815 had made some abatements in the rents of the tenantry, which were afterwards discontinued. But many of the convicted Ribbonmen were in good circumstances, and no man who reflects on the number of years the peasantry of the south of Ireland, and of Limerick and Tipperary in particular, have been eagerly and unceasingly employed in plundering arms and ammunition, can admit that the conduct of Mr. Hoskins, be it what it may, could have demoralized the whole south of Ireland, and have occasioned those daring and *systematic* violations of the law, which have outraged every humane and manly feeling. If the *cause* was of so *local* a nature, how happens it that the *effect* has been so *general*, that at this moment eight tenths of the peasantry of *all Ireland* are *sworn Ribbonmen* ?—How happens it, also, that not a single Protestant has been found amongst the convicted Ribbonmen ?—Because they swear not to admit a Protestant or a Presbyterian amongst them.

The avowed objects of the Ribbonmen of the present day have been the burning to death, or the assassination of the most active Magistrates, and of every one who dared to reside on *interdicted land*, that is, land which the preceding tenants had either voluntarily given up, considering the rent too high, or land from which they had been ejected for non-payment of rent;—of every hostile witness in the courts of justice;—of every one who paid, or who collected tythe;*—or who paid beyond *General Rock's* arbitrary maximum of rent.

Their *secret* and *sworn* objects are, *to obtain arms and ammunition for a general massacre of Protestants, and the subversion of the present Government.* I pledge my honour for the truth of this assertion, for *I have seen some of the original oaths found on convicted Ribbonmen.*

In the House of Commons, Feb. 7, 1822, the Marquis of Londonderry stated, that “there was nothing short of actual rebellion in the south and south-west of Ireland; and when he stated, that rebellion existed, he believed that he stated every component of that state and order of things which required the most vigorous and coercive measures.....If it was not a rebellion against religion or government, yet was it a rebellion against law—against the enjoyment of property—against good order—against all those principles which hold men in society together. It was a rebellion against all constituted authorities, under some nameless and mysterious power. It was a system of menace and terror, of assassination and murder, to deter every man in the nation from doing his duty, whether in the council or in the field.—A combination to *rob and sweep away the arms from the loyal subject*, to enable the

* I can name a truly worthy, constantly resident Clergyman, who has received only 100*l.* during the two last years, instead of 1,600*l.* the amount due to him for tythe.

insurgent to oppose and defy the force of the laws. Parliament would not act with either wisdom or justice, if they hesitated to furnish Government with the proper means of *crushing this monstrous confederacy*.”—I trust too, that the Government will be furnished with the proper means of *preventing*, or of crushing in the bud, all similar confederacies.

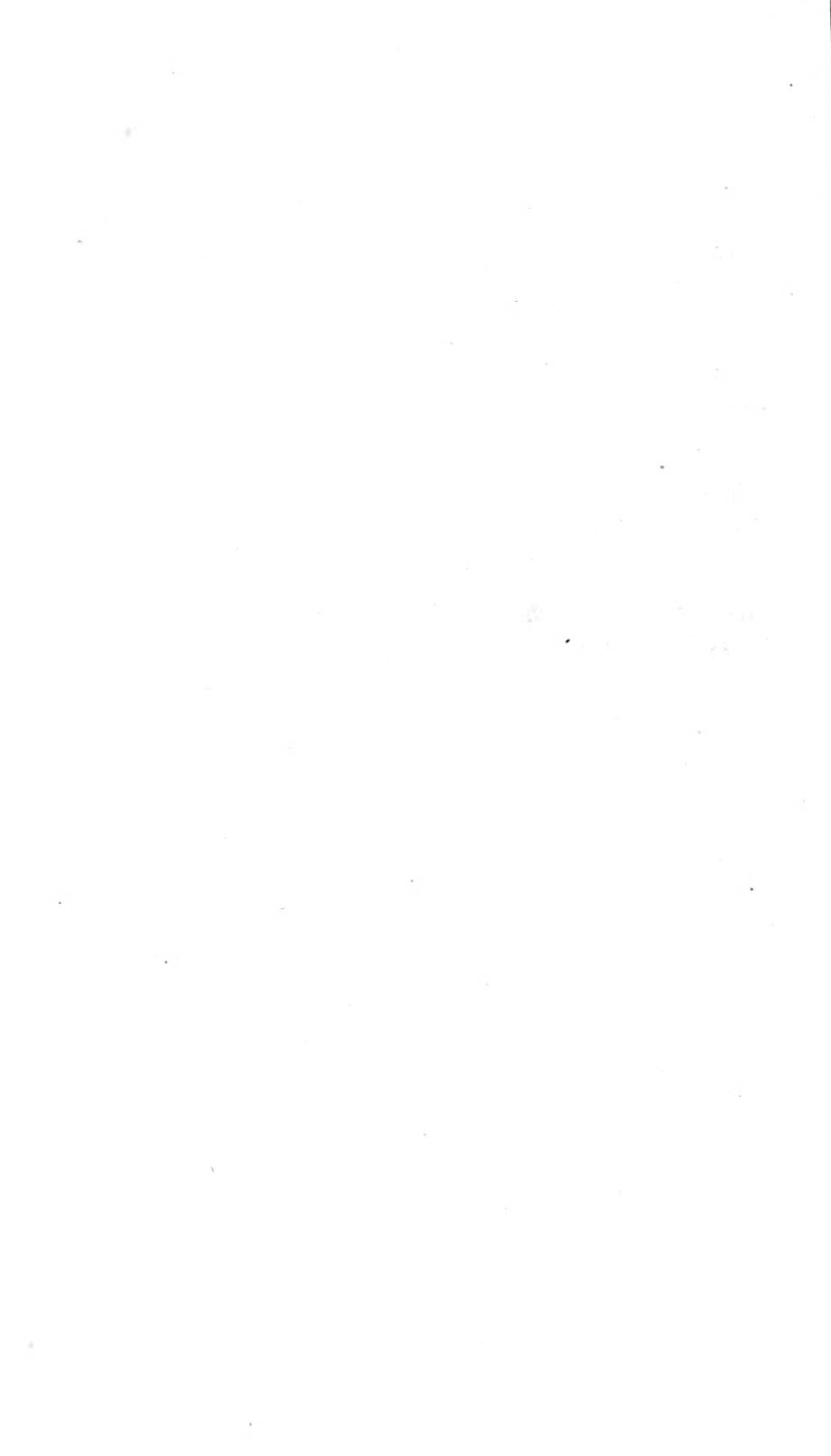
“Mr. C. Grant, could assure the House, that *it was only from a sincere opinion of its necessity*, that he should vote for the enactment of the Insurrection Act.”

The Habeas Corpus Bill was suspended in Ireland, and the Insurrection Act, and the Gun Powder, Ammunition and Importation of Arms Act were passed.

The spirit of insurrection soon extended itself from the county of Limerick over great part of the county of Cork; and so rapidly and generally had it spread in the latter county, that it was stated by Mr. Sergeant Joy, at the Special Commission held at Cork on Feb. 20, 1822, “that on the 25th of the preceding month near 2,000 insurgents made an attack in the neighbourhood of Macroom, while at the same hour, on the same day, 2,000 more of them assembled for a similar purpose near Newmarket. They fired on the military under Lieut. Green, whose fire they received in return, nor did they disperse until they received a second volley from the King’s troops, and that the reserve under Captain Kaphook approached, and then they fell in between two fires, whereby a number of them were killed, and several were made prisoners.

On March 30, 1822, chief Justice Bushe, in his Address to the Grand Jury of Kilkenny, observed, “My experience of what recently passed in the county of Lime-

rick; while officially engaged there, enables me to say, that the Newspapers present but a FAINT AND FEEBLE PICTURE, indeed, of the atrocities which were committed there. The peasantry had actually taken possession of the county—the gentry were obliged to seek protection against the most atrocious violence, by converting their own houses into garrisons—society, no longer secure from the encroachment of outrage, was completely disorganized—the daily repetition of crimes the most revolting; plunder, burnings, murder, the frequent infliction of torture, gave a character of peculiar horror to the crimes of the infatuated peasantry—and all, in a word, that is most disgraceful to human nature, was to be found in their excesses. Let me assure you, after a vast deal of experience, Gentlemen, that CRIMINAL VIOLENCE LIKE THIS MUST BE PUT DOWN IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, OR NOT AT ALL.”



PART II.

A VIEW

OF THE

ACTUAL STATE OF IRELAND,

*And of the events generating, or connected with its
past disturbances, and present discontented and
demoralized situation.*

“**THUS** far have we walked in the footsteps of time, and heard the voice of history. Events lead us to experience, experience to improvement; there remain then for enquiry the present evil—the future remedy.”

Before I attempt to describe the actual state of Ireland, I shall lay before the reader the following apposite observation from the ‘Preface to the Trial of John Magee, Esq. for a libel on the Duke of Richmond’s administration in Ireland;’—for, the more I have reflected on the events herein narrated, and on the habits and condition of the Irish *people* of the present day, the more strongly I have been convinced of the truth of Mr. Magee’s remark.

“The fact of an original and peculiar trait in the cha-

racter of a people, of certain strong and national individualities, however questioned, and with whatever ingenuity impugned, has always appeared to us to be traced on principles as philosophic as they are obvious, and simple as they are irrefragable. Not to state the reasons for this opinion, which reasons must be familiar to every philosophical inquirer, we shall only insist upon the *fact, historically demonstrated, that the character of the modern Irish bears a prominent resemblance to that of their remote ancestors*. It is unnecessary to marshal the particulars. Those read in the more ancient history of Ireland, and conversant in modern Irish affairs, will, after some consideration, agree to the justness of the remark.—It is amazing, indeed, to contemplate *how little the Irish character has lost* (alas! Mr. M. should have said how much it has lost, how little it has gained) in the revolutions which have swept with such disastrous violence over Ireland.”

In pursuing the proposed examination into the present condition of Ireland, and the *causes* of its past disturbances and present discontented and demoralized condition; it will be necessary, in order to put the reader in full possession of all the localities of our peculiar situation; to enter into a detail which I fear he will consider prolix, and to treat of Absentees,—Resident Gentry,—Magistrates, &c.—Clergy of the Established Church,—Catholic Clergy,—and of the Peasantry of Ireland.

Absentees. “The nobility and affluent gentry,” observes the able author of the Sketch, &c. p. 29, “spend much, or all their fortunes and time in England; leaving their places to be filled in the country by hired agents—in the city by a *plebeian aristocracy*:—the former, solely engaged in encreasing and collecting rents, can have little concilia-

tory power with the people; and the influence of the latter tends rather to encrease than diminish the political danger.'

' A great evil. Not only because the country is drained by remittances, but because she is *widowed of her natural protectors*; the loss is not of money (only) but manners—not of wealth (alone) but of civilization and peace.'

I am so strongly impressed with a conviction that the absence of so many men of rank, property, respectability and influence, has been productive of deep and incalculable injury to the morals, habits, situation, and political feelings of the lower orders of the Irish people, and to the national as well as individual happiness and prosperity; that I do not think it possible for any legislative measures to restore and preserve tranquillity to the country, and render it prosperous, so long as the people shall continue to be deprived of the example and influence of the greater part of that order of society which are so influential, (nay indispensable) in creating, encouraging, and preserving in them "that love of justice and true perception of it,—that obedience to the laws, that respect for authority,—to form that soberly and orderly conduct—which were, and which are, in an eminent degree, the peculiar characteristic of the people of England."

For a detailed examination into the various ill consequences to Ireland, social, moral, financial, and political, arising from the number of her absentee proprietors, I refer the reader to a pamphlet published by Rodwell and Martin, London, 1820, entitled "The Absentee," &c. In that essay it is estimated, that the money spent out of Ireland by absentees amounted to two millions sterling.

Mr. Parker, in his "Plea for the Poor and Industrious," is of opinion, that it amounts to near four millions.

Resident
nobility,
gentry, and
magistrates,
&c.

Unfortunately for themselves, as well as for their tenantry, the resident as well as the absentee proprietors of Ireland have too frequently lived *beyond*, and almost invariably *lived up to*, the full amount of their rent roll, even when their rentals were at the highest rate of war prices; which of necessity has obliged them to raise the rent of the immediate occupant of the land beyond what his profits have enabled him to pay:—the natural and inevitable result has been, that both absentee and resident landlords were divided from the people by the necessities of an improvident expenditure, which made them *greedy for high rents, easily to be obtained in the competition of an over-crowded population*, but not paid without grudging and bitterness of heart. The extravagance of the landlord has but one resource—high rents. The peasant had but one means of living—the land. He must give what is demanded, or starve; and at best he did no more than barely escape starving. His life was a struggle against high rents, by secret combination and open violence. That of the landlord was a struggle to be paid, and to preserve his right of changing his tenantry when, and as often as he pleased. In this conflict the landlord was not always wrong, nor the peasant always right. The indulgent landlord was sometimes not better treated than the harsh one, nor low rents better paid than high. The habits of the people were depraved." *Thoughts, &c. on Education*, p. 44.

In consequence of improvident expenditure;—family settlements, &c. proportioned to a rental rapidly and greatly augmented by war prices;—to expensive lawsuits—peace, and the consequent fall of rents;—and other causes,

many of our resident proprietors have become embarrassed in their circumstances, and could not, sufficiently early, make those abatements in rent, or afford that timely assistance to their impoverished tenantry, which justice and humanity, and even self-interest, require. Some of them also, not unfrequently, have set their tenantry and inferiors a bad example, in their endeavours to evade the payment of their just debts, and in infringing the laws, or opposing the execution of them; and what is still worse, have too often made the peasantry their instruments in obstructing or punishing the officers of justice in the discharge of their duty.

Grand Jury presentments, quarter sessions business, or political, religious, or local differences, have also afforded endless opportunities for magistrates to support their respective tenants and dependants by bailing or defending them, or taking an interest in their favour; sometimes on occasions, and to an extent, not strictly consonant to the rigid principles of impartial justice. “Your honor will not support me,” said an indignant peasant to an upright Irish magistrate, who had taken some trouble to ascertain the merits of the case, “because you say I am not in the right.” Oh! I wish to J—— I lived under Mr. —— for *he supports his people be they right or be they wrong.*”

Contested elections, and the formation or augmentation of an interest in the county, by the inconsiderate and boundless increase of 40s. freeholders, have proved alike injurious to the tranquillity and true interest of the landed proprietor and his wretched freeholders. To the latter, the power of voting has been a mere mockery of the elective franchise; for, in the words of Judge Fletcher, in

his memorable charge to the Grand Jury of Wexford in 1814, "they are driven to the hustings, and there, collected, like sheep in a pen; they must poll for the great undertaker, who has purchased them by his jobs, and this is frequently done, with little regard to convenience, or duty, or *real value* of the *alleged freehold*."*

In his reflections on the past and present state of Ireland, the reader must never lose sight of the important facts, that but a small proportion of the population are of the Established Religion;—that the Catholics, according to the assertions of their leaders and advocates, form five-sixths of that population;—and that the latter pay tythe to the clergy of the former.

Protestant
Clergy.

In describing the Protestant Clergy, the author of "Thoughts, &c. on the Education of the Peasantry, page 24," says, "There is no where a more highly respectable and exemplary body of men than the Irish Protestant Clergy. They are particularly useful in those parts of Ireland where there are few resident gentry; they supply in some measure the place of these, and are indeed more in the nature of country gentlemen, living upon their tythes, as upon their estates, than of a Christian priesthood, busied in the peculiar duties of their vocation, in which, as far as regards a Protestant flock, they may have little or no occupation.† Alms, it may be, are distributed to the poor, and medicines given to the sick. To this he generally adds the secular dignity and the bus-

* I recommend to the reader's perusal a short but admirable letter from Lord Carberry to the editor of the *Munster Farmer's Magazine*, Oct. 20, 1818, on the population and employment of the poor of Ireland.

† It is evident that this description relates to the Protestant Clergy resident among a Catholic population.

tle of a justice of the peace:—and there have been instances where he has accumulated the, one would think incongruous honors, the splendid arrayment, the scarlet and gold, and the glittering steel of a yeomanry captain.”

“ We are far from denying his usefulness in all these capacities; some of them, too, have devolved upon him almost of necessity. But we are obliged to contend for the truth; that they do injure and retard the advancement and cultivation of Religion, and of Protestantism in Ireland. Let it be supposed, that there is more light and truth, more of the genuine unmixed spirit of the Gospel, in the faith and forms of the Reformed Church; by what channel is it to reach the cottages of the peasantry?”

“ The Catholic Priest has about him all the signs of his important vocation, and none other. He is seen to be occupied wholly, and devoted exclusively to the ministrations of his office; he has no other pursuit or employment. There is more of sympathy too between the order and condition of the peasant and that of the Catholic priest; the latter is more used to *the humilities of life* than the Protestant clergyman. He is one of the *people*, speaking their language, and intimately acquainted with their manners and habits..... But taken as he is, almost exclusively, from among the sons of the lower class of farmers, he is himself, perhaps, tainted with the vices of the populace; to a near contact with which he was exposed in early life... Their habits do not shock his taste, not elevated by the spirit of the Gospel, nor refined by polite association; and he is content to leave them in those vices in which he found them. He is satisfied if things are not glaringly bad; he looks upon projects of improvement as generally hopeless and chimerical; the troublesome fooleries of vi-

Catholic
Clergy.

sionary men ; and he regards the barbarity of his flock as too long established for change. He has besides an undefined idea, *that improvement of any kind must tend to endanger that power over the people*, which he values as the basis of family or personal aggrandizement. He adopts, in all their extent, the prejudices of his church against *innovation*, and does not scruple to oppose this dreaded enemy with arms of a doubtful character—the dubious legends of the saints, or the fabulous miracles of the dark ages. But the BIBLE is the spectre the most *appalling in the eyes of this pastor* ; he is for evermore *in arms against this mighty innovator* ; he disputes every inch of ground, and is no sooner dislodged from one position than he takes up another, for which he contends with the same spirit and devotedness. We have known men of this class sustaining themselves by worse than doubtful measures, assuming to perform miraculous cures, and practising the grossest deceptions upon the poor and ignorant.”

I fully coincide with the author of the above observations, when he next observes that “ the Catholic church counts amongst her members characters of the most exalted piety, and of the purest disinterestedness, and which do honor to human nature.”

Peasantry
of Ireland.

In describing the peasantry of Ireland I must again have recourse to the nervous language of the “ Sketch, &c.” p. 30.

“ The cultivator of the land seldom holds from the inheritor ; between them stand a series of sub-landlords and tenants, each receiving a profit from his lease, but having no further interest or connexion with the soil ; the last in the series must provide for the profits of all—he

therefore parcels out, at rack-rents, the land to his miserable tenants. Here is no yeomanry—(in the English acceptation of the word)—no agricultural capitalist ; no degree between the landlord and labourer ; the words “ peasantry” and “ poor” synonymously employed.

“ They are generally of the Roman Catholic religion, ^{Their religion.} *but utterly and disgracefully ignorant*—few among them can read ; fewer write. The Irish language, a barbarous jargon,” (the admirers of it would call the writer a Goth, for they deem it the most *harmonious* and *expressive* language in the world) “is generally, and in some districts, exclusively spoken : and with it are retained customs and superstitions as barbarous. Popish legends and pagan tradition are confounded and revered : for certain holy wells and sacred places they have extraordinary respect : thither crowd the sick for cure, and the sinful for expiation ; and their priests, deluded or deluding, enjoin these pilgrimages as penance, or applaud them, when voluntary, as *piety*. The religion of such a people is not to be confounded with one of the same name professed by the enlightened nations of Europe. The University of Paris has some tenets, in common, perhaps, with the Irish papist, but does *it* believe that water restores the cripple, enlightens the blind, or purifies the guilty ?”

“ Their dress is mean and squalid, particularly of the ^{Dress.} females.....*of personal cleanliness they have no care*. The children are generally half naked, living without distinction of sexes, in dirt and mire, almost with the cattle. Yet from this nakedness and filth they grow up to that strength and stature for which they are admirable !”

“ Their dwellings are of primitive and easy construction—the walls and floors of clay, the roof of wood or ^{Dwellings.}

thatch.....within are two unequal divisions; in the smaller, filthy and unfurnished, you will hardly suppose the whole family to sleep; in the larger, on a hearth without grate or chimney, a scanty fire warms rather by its smoke than by its blaze, and discolours whatever it warms. Glazed windows there are none" (there is an aperture for one, which is usually stopped up with straw, rags, &c.) "the open door amply sufficing for light and air to those who are careless of either. Furniture they neither have nor want; their food and its preparation are simple; potatoes (almost invariably) or oaten cakes (seldom), sour milk (only occasionally) and salted fish (very rarely indeed). In drink they are not so temperate: of all spirituous liquors they are immoderately fond, but most of whiskey, the distilled extract of fermented corn. In many districts, by an ingenious and simple process, they prepare this liquor themselves, but clandestinely, and to the great injury of national morals and revenue."

Illicit distillation.

Judge Fletcher told the Wexford jury that "the resident gentry of the county generally winked with both their eyes at illicit distillation, and why? Because it brought home to the door of their tenantry a market for their corn, and consequently increased the rent of their lands—besides, they were themselves consumers of these liquors, and in every town and village there was an unlicensed house (several) for retailing them. The consumption of spirits produced such pernicious effects, that at length the executive powers deemed it high time to put an end to the system. The consequence was, that the people, rendered ferocious by the use of those liquors, and accustomed to lawless habits, resorted to force, resisted the laws, opposed the military, and hence have resulted riots, assaults and murders."

"In agricultural pursuits (Sketch, p. 32) they are

neither active nor expert; hereditary indolence would incline them to employ their lands in pasturage, and it is often more easy to induce them to take arms for their country, or against it, than to cultivate the earth, or wait upon the seasons."

"The Irish peasant thinks not of independence;—he dreams not of property, unless in dreams of insurrection. His wishes have no scope; he is habituated to derive from his land and his labour, only his daily potato: and we know that competitors offer the whole value of the produce, minus that daily potato—sometimes more than the whole is promised, and nothing paid; the tenant, for a few months, appeases his hunger; quarter-day approaches, he absconds; and the absentee landlord in Dublin or London exclaims at the knavery of an Irish tenant."

The landlords' resource is then in the *Middlemen*: now, **Middlemen.** in the words of an intelligent, anonymous writer—"the peasantry of Ireland have by landlords, *middlemen*, and the letters of con-acres, been reduced to great distress; and every ten or twelve years they attempt an emancipation from all control and all payments; the landlords, their middlemen and con-acre letters, become frightened—they reduce their prices for the moment, and the population, thinned a little by the executioner, the musket, and the convict ship, returns to a species of armed peace. Both parties, however, soon forget the wholesome lesson just taught—one side is soon absurd enough to expect what cannot be paid, the other become hungry and desperate enough to promise what they cannot pay.—Indulgence is taken by force on one side, and given with reluctance on the other; but payment must at last, if not enforced, be sought, and again the bubble bursts,—fire and sword again cover the country."

The demand for Irish linens, butter, beef, corn, &c. &c. raises the price of the land from which they are derived—a brisk export trade is carried on,—and the country is pronounced to be improving and prosperous :—this might be true if our people enjoyed a just proportion of those products of our soil, and that we merely exported the surplus of them. But how can that country be considered improving or prosperous, whose peasantry are in rags, and fed on potatoes from the commencement to the end of the year; and rarely, if ever, partake of any of those articles for which they toil, and live, like the beasts of the field, to produce from their little spot of ground at a rack-rent?

“In what land shall we meet with such a combination of unhappy circumstances tending to excite every bad passion, and to impress every evil habit? A land from which the marks and the remembrances of its civil broils have not yet passed away;—poor and oppressed with burdens;—drained by its absentees;—without industry, and swarming with a most improvident population..... Their religion is the observance of a few idle ceremonies, and terror of the priest. Their allegiance is terror of the law.”—Thoughts on Education, p. 15.

“Domestic economy, agricultural improvement, the love and knowledge of the laws, the detection and expulsion of superstition, the growth and influence of true piety, who can expect them among a people, utterly dark and blind, of four millions—the probable population—(6,846,949 according to the census of 1821) one million perhaps can write and read—of this million three-fourths are Protestants and Protestant Dissenters: there remains a solid mass of *dangerous and obstinate ignorance*—not all—but *chiefly Catholic*.”

This, to many, may appear to be an illiberal and incorrect assertion on the part of the Author of 'the Sketch, &c.' but I fear that the following returns, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, will, unhappily, confirm the truth of them beyond controversy:—

In the month of October 1819, there were in the Adult Female Penitentiary in Dublin, 56 prisoners ;

Of these there were Protestants	3
Catholics	53
	—56

In the Penitentiary for Young Criminals there were 105 prisoners ;

Of these there were Protestants 9
Catholics 96
—105

In 1819, the convict ship, *Bencoolen*, sailed from the Cove of Cork with 150 convicts for New South Wales;

Of these there were Protestants 4
Catholics 146
—150

In March 1820, the *Hadlow*, Captain Craigie, sailed from the Cove of Cork also with 150 convicts ;

Of these there were Protestants 3
Catholics 147
—150

In the eloquent language of Mr. Attorney General Plunket, “what may be the *form* of the religion of the several classes of the people, I care not to inquire.—*If the principles of Christianity prevail; if the sense of obedience to a supreme ruler of the world; if the conviction of the existence of a future state, in which rewards and punish-*

*ments are distributed, be kept alive in the minds of the people, they will never become the instruments for the commission of abominable crimes:—*But if these sentiments be extinguished, if they shall be taught to cast off all regard for a future world, the ties which bind them to earth, as well as to Heaven, are rent asunder.”

The numerous quotations I have given convey so unfavourable a character of the Irish peasantry, that I am afraid they will be considered as the too highly coloured and distorted misrepresentations of Protestant bigotry. I shall therefore lay before the reader a description of them from “A proposal for the advancement of Religious Knowledge, and the Reformation of Morals, *by a Roman Catholic Clergyman.*” (Dublin 1820) p. 17—“The less disorderly of the peasantry are in the habit of loitering during their leisure hours, in their cabins, or in the hedges when the season permits ; but *the greater number* assemble in one or other of the meanest and least respectable houses in their neighbourhood, where the evening is generally spent in playing cards, in indecent diversions, lewd songs, obscene conversation, and the like irregularities. But if a *wake*,* or a dance, the favorite scenes of amusement, be within reach, the youth of both sexes flock thither from a considerable distance, where the greater part of the night is spent in such sports and amusements *as are shocking to common decency, utterly destructive of morality and religion*, and are better suited to a company of bacchanalians than an assembly of Christians.....There is good reason for

* “*Wake*, in Ireland, means *night watching over a corpse*, observed for two, and sometimes three nights, which, by the custom of the country, intervene between decessé and interment.”—What are we to think of the Religion of the Catholic peasantry from the account here given by a *Catholic Clergyman* of their conduct during their *night watchings over a corpse* ?”

believing, that *not only ordinary vices, but crimes of the blackest die and worst consequences, originate in these assemblies.*"

* * * * *

"Who will call this people civilized, or wonder that they are turbulent?" Mr. Plowden, a Roman Catholic conveyancer, in the 'Case Stated,' admits "that *the zealots for sedition and anarchy have found them ready materials to work on.*"

The highly gifted Attorney General of Ireland, the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, feelingly observed, that "It is a melancholy and disheartening thing, that our wretched peasantry can be deluded by such arts, and that they should be thus imposed upon after such miserable examples. For half a century attempts have been made upon the infatuated people of this country. What has been the consequence? Disgrace to the perpetrators; failure of their plans; ruin and death to themselves. Yet what is the condition of the poor unhappy people of this country? *As soon as any disaffected mountebank appears, proclaiming his laws and imaginary benefits, they become the willing instruments of his schemes and their own destruction.* Is it possible that they can for a moment imagine, that a great empire like this, armed with the law, protected by an army, with a regular administration of justice—are they so infatuated as to imagine, all these will yield to a few miscreants like those, under whom they have enlisted themselves?"

' In speaking as I do, with indignation for those crimes,

I feel compassion, from the very bottom of my heart, for the victims of them. Seeing the mischiefs which have been spreading in the country by artifices of miscreants, it does not surprise me at all, that many persons should be of opinion, *that measures more summary should have been adopted for the purpose of at once extinguishing these mischiefs.* I am satisfied that the opinion of such men was dictated by a feeling of the truest regard for the interests of their country; of genuine compassion and mercy towards the unfortunate delinquents themselves."

The truly amiable ex Chief Justice Downes, on the trial of the Threshers, above alluded to by Mr. Plunkett, observed that, "the experience of every man must satisfy him, that it is not difficult for artful and designing men to hold out to a deluded populace flattering hopes of a change of their situation, incapable of being realized, and often not desirable if they could; and under pretences, seducing in their nature, to cover designs the most atrocious, and which are often concealed from those who by their numbers are intended to be made *the instruments of effecting objects, which, if openly stated to them, they would shrink from with horror.* Some are thus seduced, and many, as their numbers increase, *are compelled by terror,* to enter into associations and tumultuous assemblies, often *under the control* of persons, of whom most of them were as ignorant, as they are of the *real views* with which they act. This deplorable mischief, the source of every thing that is miserable, the law endeavours to *prevent or suppress* by strong provisions."

That many of the present as well as of the past disturbances, misfortunes, and heart burnings of Ireland, are justly to be attributed to the mischievous and fatal in-

fluence of ambitious or unprincipled men, who, under the mask of the greatest public regard for others, seek only aggrandizement, or rule, or licentiousness for themselves, will, I think, be admitted by every dispassionate mind that has calmly and maturely reviewed the events narrated in these pages. If, however, the unprejudiced reader should require further proof of the existence of such injurious influence, it may be clearly traced by a reference to the records of the most important public occurrences in Ireland during the last forty years. I confine myself to the last forty years, because the various contests between the native Irish and the English settlers, narrated in the early part of this work, speak for themselves. With regard to the rebellion of 1641, Mr. Parnell admits, ‘that in James’s reign the Catholic religion had assumed a very decided influence on men’s minds;—in Charles I.’s reign this continued to increase;—in both reigns it was adverse to the Government.’ And that “after this it would be idle to deny that *Catholic bigotry* had a very large share in *exciting and prolonging the rebellion in Ireland*.” Hist. Apology, p. 121. The events which produced, and those which followed the revolution of 1688, require no elucidation. It will be sufficient to remind the reader that, in 1729 the Catholic bishops of Ireland applied for, and obtained, a bull from the pope, to raise money for the sale of indulgences, to be speedily applied to restore James III. to his right; and to recal to his recollection the observations of Thos. Burke, titular Bishop of Ossory, on the oath of allegiance in 1759; and, that at this time the *Levellers* and *White Boys* commenced that secret, systematic, terrific, and bloody course of mob legislation, which has ever since continued to be the bane and disgrace of Ireland.

Retrospect.

I shall therefore, as I have already observed, confine

myself to the recorded transactions of the last 40 years, for proofs that our discontented and demoralized state is, in no inconsiderable degree, to be attributed to the credulous and infatuated peasantry of this country having lent a ready ear to every discontented or "disaffected mountebank who has appeared," and having "become the willing instruments of his schemes, and their own destruction."

1779. The *Volunteers* of 1779, from being the protectors of their country, soon merged into political agitators; and in
 1783. 1783, as "National Guards," under the command of Napper Tandy, Dowling, and Bacon the tailor, meditated the subversion of the constitution.

- The *Defenders* were aided by the *Catholic Committee* of
 1793. 1793, and Tone, the secretary of the latter, "was detected in a conspiracy with the Rev. Mr. Jackson in the year 1794, for bringing the French into Ireland; but was permitted, through the mistaken lenity of Government, to transport himself." Musgrave, v. 1. p. 96.

The Secret Committee of the House of Lords, in 1797, declared, "that the leaders and directors of the *United Irishmen*, are now, and have been for some time past, anxiously engaged in uniting with them a class of men who had formerly disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of *Defenders*."

The reader may form an opinion of the spirit of commotion which their leaders endeavoured to excite among the Catholic multitude, as early as January, 1792, when their warm and uniform friend, Sir Hercules Langrishe,

said in the House of Commons, "That notwithstanding my prepossessions in favour of the Roman Catholics, I was checked for some time in my ardour to serve them, by reading of late a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other papers circulated *gratis*, with the utmost industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the Catholics. What was their import? They were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession *till the State itself was conceded*; they were *precautions against public tranquillity*; they were *invitations to disorder, and covenants of discontent*; they were *ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours*: rather *appeals to the powers of the people than applications to the authority of the state*: they *involved the relief of the Catholic with the revolution of the Government*: and were *dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration*."

Mr. Plowden, a Roman Catholic conveyancer, in a book entitled "The Case stated," argues, "If any one says or pretends to insinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics, who are the objects of the late bounty of Parliament, *differ in one iota from their predecessors*, he is either deceived himself, or he wishes to deceive others. "*Semper eadem*" is more emphatically descriptive of our religion than of our jurisprudence."

"After the passing of the bill of 1793 for their relief, which bill, be it remembered, gave them more than their committee had asked in their *ultimatum* of 4th February, 1792, all was gratitude and joy. That bill gave them the *elective franchise*, unqualified, which the year before they had *solicited* under certain restrictions of their own proposing; and it made them eligible to every office in the state, with the exception of those enumerated in the 33d Geo. III. and of the privilege of sitting in Parliament.

Such were the important ‘concessions’ of 1793, which their leaders at the time received with professions of the greatest gratitude, and the most entire content. ‘By this act,’ says their historian, Mr. Plowden, ‘the present state of the *Catholics of Ireland is settled.*’ What has followed? The country *has never been settled* from that day to this.” See a Refutation of the Statement of the Penal Laws, page 3.

The following fact affords the most convincing proof that the *people* of Ireland, (though they are too prone to enter into illegal associations for the redress of whatever they consider a grievance,) are not naturally disposed to *rebellion*, and that they do not engage in it, unless excited and goaded on by factious and unprincipled men.

1796. “The plan of invasion which the French attempted at Bantry was settled at an interview which took place in Switzerland in the summer of 1796, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur O’Connor, and General Hoche.”

“From the disaffection of the lower class of people during the insurrection of the *White Boys and Right Boys in Munster*, it was a matter of great astonishment *that they remained tranquil and apparently loyal, while the French hovered on the coast*; but the acknowledgment of one of the Irish Directory before the secret committee of the House of Lords fully accounts for it.”

“*He declared upon oath*, that in the month of October or November 1796, the *French Republic* announced by a special messenger to the *Irish Union*, that the hostile armament was in a state of preparation; but in a few days after the departure of the messenger from Paris with this intelligence, the *Irish Directory* received a letter from

France, which was considered by them as authentic, stating, that the projected descent was postponed till spring, when England and Ireland would be invaded at the same time."

This threw the Irish Directory off their guard:—in consequence of which, no measures were taken *to prepare the people of Munster for the reception of the French!*" Musg. v. 1, p. 198.

If the reader will recal to his memory the names of the leaders of the rebellion of 1798, he will at once agree with me, that the *people* of Ireland did not enter into it without being *duly prepared* by ambitious and unprincipled men. It is equally evident that the people were not *sufficiently prepared* for the explosion of 1803, or it would not have been short in its duration,—“contemptible in its actions,”—though it was “serious in its *unsounded depth*, and *unknown extent*.”

In 1807 Mr. Grattan declared, in the British House of Commons, that he was informed that “*meetings of a treasonable nature were held in Ireland*,” and that he was certain, “*that there was a French party in Ireland*.”

Mr. Peele, on July 8, 1814, stated in the House of Commons, that “he had read an *oath*, for which no less than *six convictions* took place at the assizes of Westmeath, the purport of which was *to be true to Bonaparte*. He had hoped that *peace would have overpowered and overcome all such absurd speculations as adherence to the despot of another country*, but he had recently learned, that *similar combinations were still forming in Ireland*.”* Mr. Baring’s observations on this occasion appear to be harsh, but,

* Part of one of the Ribbonmen’s oaths (of 1820) which I have seen, was “To assist the French, or any other power, that is endeavouring to free us from the tyrannical laws of Geo. III.”

unhappily, the records of our country prove, that the censure he passes on Ireland is not without foundation. He is reported to have said, "that the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite must be a shallow politician if he could have expected that the fall of Bonaparte would terminate the disaffection which exists in Ireland. The names which the disaffected at various times had given to themselves were of little importance; but the truth was, *the population of Ireland bore that enmity to our institutions, that they cared not with whom they united against them* ;— and he believed if the Grand Turk were to raise his standard in Ireland, they would not hesitate to join him."

On July 13, 1814, Mr. Peel declared in the House of Commons, "that among the many causes which had contributed to keep alive the spirit of discontent and irritation, and to foment disturbances in Ireland, was the *exaggerated statements* which were constantly made to the people of the *grievances* under which they were supposed to labour."

The *Leaders* of the Catholics of Ireland cannot, I think, reasonably object to my establishing the truth of Mr. Peel's assertion, by quotations from the Preface to the trial of their talented journalist, Mr. John Magee, and from materials furnished by the records of their resolutions, speeches, and conduct at their public meetings;*

* For detailed accounts of the proceedings of the Catholic leaders, I shall refer the reader to *The Dublin Evening Post* ;—to the speeches of the Right Hon. W. W. Pole in the House of Commons on the 8th March, 1811, and the 3d Feb 1812 ;—to "Prudence true Patriotism,"—to "A Refutation of the Statement of the Penal Laws;"—to "A Commentary on the Proceedings of the Roman Catholics of Ireland during the reign of Geo. III.;"—and to "A Brief Review of the Duke of Richmond's Administration as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from April 1807 to August 1813."

and I appeal to every unprejudiced person who will take the trouble to read and reflect on the accounts of these transactions, for the truth or fallacy of my statements, the fairness or injustice of my conclusions.

At page 18 of the Preface of his Trial for a libel on the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Magee, with great truth and ability, observes—"It has been already remarked, that all political power was taken from the hands of the Irish aristocracy (at the Union), their local authority was diminished to that of mere lords of the manor, or justices of the peace: their authority in the state was gone for ever. But though these were destroyed, there was another formidable POWER arising in the country, a POWER which possessed a unity of principle—which was corroborated by misfortunes—which was bound together *teres atque rotundus*, by the strongest of all ties, a community of religious opinions. This power was the CATHOLIC POWER of Ireland. While a Parliament existed the *people* were *divided* by various questions agitated in the Senate: a reform in the Commons, a commutation of tythes, even a Police Bill that could only affect the city of Dublin, dissipated popular attention. Emancipation, it is true, was always a great measure, but it was only *one* of the great measures in agitation. The attention diffused upon the circumference, now *radiates*, forgive the philosophy of the metaphor, to the centre. *The Irish mind has called in its political scouts*;—it has now consolidated all its forces to a single point. It bears upon a single object, and, *let it always be remembered*, there is now, whatever there may be in intention, no *hostile aristocracy*, in fact, *to resist the impetus of public opinion, or to interfere between the executive and the people.*"

This great truth the government of the Duke of Rich-

mond did not perceive, or seeing it, did not estimate at its proper value. In the mean time *the Catholics assembled in aggregate meetings, in counties, and in committees.* They petition—their petition is rejected. *They proceed to consolidate and organize their body ; they form a General Committee ;* it is attacked by the Convention Act, and, after *two trials,* a doubtful victory is obtained (by Government) —an *aggregate meeting* is called—the *very self same Committee* is voted a Board, and in the opinion, we understand, of all the Crown lawyers but one, the board is totally out of the pale of the obnoxious act !

“ In short *the public mind* is, at this moment, (1813) *in a state of disquietude and discontent, such as have not been experienced in Ireland since the passing of the Union.*”

How fully, though unintentionally, does this statement corroborate the assertion in Mr. Pole’s speech of February 3, 1812, “That every possible effort, every factious art was used to mislead the people of Ireland, and of England, by confounding what was called the Catholic question, with the measures to which the Lord Lieutenant has been compelled to resort to maintain the public tranquillity. The Lord Lieutenant thought that his duty consisted *in maintaining the laws of the land ;—in enforcing obedience to those laws ;—and in taking care that equal justice was administered to all classes of his Majesty’s subjects whom he was appointed to govern ;* and I can assure the House, that the Lord Lieutenant and his advisers *found they had quite enough to do in performing those duties,* without entering into abstract speculations about altering the constitution.”

“ At an Aggregate Meeting of Freemen and Freeholders of Dublin, 18th Sept. 1810, at which a great number of Catholic gentlemen were present, among others Mr. O’Connell, who took an active part upon that

occasion, as well as at the Meeting which I shall next allude to, it was resolved, with acclamation,

“ That our excellent and amiable Viceroy, his Grace the Duke of Richmond, has, by the *uniform conciliation* and *wisdom* of his conduct, merited the gratitude and thanks of the Irish Nation.”—But,

“ At a very numerous Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, on the 26th Dec. 1811, after its being resolved that their General Committee had been forcibly and illegally *obstructed* and *outraged*, by the orders of his Grace the Duke of Richmond, it was resolved,

“ That, in the measures pursued by the administration of Ireland, *for some years*, we have observed with regret and indignation, a *spirit of progressive intemperance and exasperating intolerance*, arising from the impolicy of those rulers; as well as from *their ignorance of the country they have undertaken to govern*.”—Mr. Pole, Feb. 3, 1812, p. 60.

“ They represent themselves as forming five-sixths of the population of Ireland. The number of persons of that religion *qualified to sit in Parliament*, from learning, talents, and property, are estimated at 30,000 ! and their Clergy, who it was stated ought to be provided for by the State, without any condition or limitation, amounted to 2,000.”

“ The Catholic Convention stated themselves to be the representatives of four millions of Roman Catholics,—who occupy the most valuable positions, whether for commercial, or *for military purposes*; the boldest coasts, most navigable rivers, and *most tenable passes*; the most fertile districts, the richest supplies of forage, the readiest *means of attack or defence*.”—Ibid. p. 24.

“During one of the violent debates which took place in the Committee, after some language of a peculiarly inflammatory and seditious nature had been used, one of the members called out to a person who was taking notes, and said, ‘we are going too far, you had better not take that down.’ The note taker replied, ‘I thought so myself, and had already shut my book.’—Ibid. p. 16.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that Government, and the Protestant body at large, were at length alarmed; for Lord Ffrench himself had, in consequence of the violence of their proceedings, seceded from the Committee, and had used the emphatic expression, ‘Ireland is sick of this business; do you mean to erect yourselves into a *perpetual Parliament*?’ Lord Fingal had also withdrawn himself from them,* and it was the remnant, whose violence had disgusted these noblemen, and the moderate part of the Catholic body, that issued their ‘Circular Letter’ for the *Election of Delegates* from the several *Provinces, Counties, &c. &c.* for an assemblage of Catholic Prelates, Peers, Peers’ eldest sons, Baronets, &c. &c. in order that with a *Catholic Parliament* of upwards of 470 persons, under the name of *Delegates*, they might more stoutly brave and intimidate Government, and embarrass its measures. It was to this *Committee*, and to the *Delegates*, that the Catholics of Ireland were told to look for a redress of their grievances, for that it was vain to expect it from an arbitrary, bigotted, besotted, ignorant, and intolerant Government; and that by confidence in them, and *cooperation amongst themselves*, “by a long

* The Reader need scarcely be reminded that the Lords Fingal and Kenmare, and sixty Roman Catholic Gentlemen, disgusted and alarmed at the intemperate proceedings of the Catholic Committee, had seceded from that body in 1792.

pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, Ireland might again become a kingdom !”

“ Will any man tell me,” observed Mr. Pole, “ that an assembly constituted like the one which I have described, without a Crown to dissolve, without a Speaker to restrain it, could sit in the city of Dublin without endangering the public tranquillity ?”

“ If gentlemen will take the trouble of reading the debates of the Committee, they will find that *separation* was distinctly and openly recommended, and that every argument, every topic of declamation that ingenuity could suggest, was made use of to throw the two countries into confusion, and to set the people of Ireland against those of England.”—Mr. Pole, p. 49, Feb. 3, 1812.

Mr. Ensor, in his “ No Veto: Restoration of violated Rights,” (Dublin 1815) p. 16, informed the Catholic people that “ whenever the Faith of man is *opposed*, the simple observance assumes a new character, *it is a divine call, and to resist is a sacred achievement.*” In page 17, he says, that Talleyrand attributes the profound tranquillity which reigned in America, to the equality with which all sects are treated ;—and that France has since acted on this principle. “ This alone,” he observes, “ is an *equivalent for the whole transient misery of the French Revolution.*—Why cannot England attain the same felicity ? or must *equity* be attained by her also *through the means of general commotion ?* And it does seem that great and valuable reforms, in consequence of the pertinacity and selfishness of those who *riot in the oppression of their fellow-citizens*, can only be effected amidst throes and agonies.”

Again,—“ Whatever Ireland has obtained from Eng

land has been *wrong* from her in her wars and weakness. Yet still I hope that England must perceive, from the danger she has just escaped, the necessity of conciliating Ireland, and *the fatal consequences that must ensue from another crisis*, should Ireland not be secured by the establishment of equitable measures.....*What would England be with Ireland opposed to her? And Ireland, if forced to resistance, would find more friends than the insurgent provinces of America.*"—p. 40.

The *Apologist* for the Catholics, Mr. Parnell, (p. 143) exclaims, "O hearts of barbarians, of Zealots, of *Protestants!* the flames which made Bonner accursed; the hideous night of St. Bartholomew, are not so great a disgrace to the character of man, as your cold contriving bigotry.

"They at least had the excuse, the *varnish of religious feeling*, they sprung not from selfishness, but from a *visitation* of fanaticism, as inscrutable as physical insanity. These men *merely made a mistake!* They worshipped a DEMON, and thought him GOD!!"

I shall spare the reader the pain of reading any quotations of the innumerable passages in Mr. Ensor's work, in which he speaks of our present gracious Sovereign Geo. IV. (then Prince Regent) in the most offensive language.—He who doubts my declaration, that they are not fit for the public eye, may refer to the work itself.

If any thing could have opened the eyes of the truly loyal, respectable, and religious part (and that part is a considerable one,) of the Catholic community of Ireland, to the true motives and designs of their discontented or ambitious leaders, it would have been the conduct of these factious men on the receipt of Cardinal Quarantotti's

Rescript, by which the Society of Propaganda sanctioned the Catholic Relief Bill: it proved that there is no art too low for their adoption, no character too sacred for their calumny; even the head of that religion, about which they profess so much zeal, and feel so little real interest, because he would not lend the sanction of his name to their vile purposes, because he would not become a party in making the *sacred name of religion a mask for political intrigue*; even that Pope himself they now find it convenient to defame, they now find it convenient to represent him as ready to yield to England the integrity and privileges of that Church, for which he encountered captivity, privation, and braved even death itself, sooner than yield to France.”—(Prudence true Patriotism, p. 11.)

But I must quote from their own works,—or I shall be accused of misrepresentation: Mr. Ensor, p. 30, says, “I do not accuse Cardinal Quarantotti of treachery to his religion, but it is clear *he obtruded his advice*, and it is equally clear, that he knew no more of Ireland than Mr. Peel, or Sir J. Cox Hipplesley: this aged man was *imposed upon, and I imagine secret service money ministered to others effected his delusion*. The people of Ireland deserved the entire indignation of the Government; for never did any people express so rapidly *their abhorrence of that insidious proposal which came from Rome, but was fabricated in London*. The Catholic Clergy have declared, *by their actions, that they feel there is a duty paramount to their Church discipline*.”

Another instance of the unauthorized interference of Catholic Laymen in religious matters, is evinced in the following letter from the celebrated Mr. O’Connell to Mr. E. Hay, the Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, which recently appeared in the Public Journals. Are not the Pope, the Propaganda, and their Secretary, Cardinal

Quarantotti, and the highly respectable Catholic Bishops of Ireland, competent to conclude on the spiritual arrangements arising out of the Catholic question, without the sanction of Mr. Ensor and Mr. O'Connell?

“ *Limerick, July, 27, 1817.*

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I perceive ‘the pliant *Trojan*’ * has got Dr. Murray’s support for the Veto. Their publication of their letter to you was intended to intimidate other Bishops from that zealous opposition to the Veto, which the people look for, and the times require. The person I am most surprised at is *you*—*Why did you not instantly counteract the poison by publishing all such replies as you received reprobatory of the Veto, and favourable to Domestic Nomination.* I presume you are waiting for more; but as the war began at the other side, you ought at once to have published every *publishable* letter.

“ I conjure you to let Dr. Coppinger and Dr. O’Shaughnessy’s letters see the day as soon as possible. Discretion will injure, not serve us, on this point.

“ I am, I own, *greatly* shocked at the part Dr. Murray is taking. I had the highest opinion of him, and the greatest respect for him. But I see he wishes, with Dr. Troy’s See, to inherit the patronage of the Catholic Church of Ireland. Oh! it is melancholy to think of his falling off. He who compared the Vetoists to Judas. As to Dr. Troy, better could not be expected from him. *His traffic at the Castle is long notorious!* But the sneer at the Board, and the suppressed anger of those Prelates, would be ludicrous, if the subject were not so important and vital. Are they angry because we urge not the *name*

* Dr. Troy.

but the reality of Domestic Nomination? Alas ! the fact is, that is just the cause of their ill temper, and the source of their attack upon us.

“ You cannot conceive any thing more lively than the *abhorrence* of these Vetoistical plans, *amongst the people at large*. I really think they will go near to *desert all such Clergymen as do not now take an active part on the question*. The *Methodists were never in so fair a way of making converts*. Publish, my dear Friend, publish.—The Ennis Aggregate was the most numerous ever known.

“ Your’s most sincerely,

“ DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

“ P. S.—Send me, by return of post, the Address of all the Bishops.”

“ To Edward Hay, Esq.”

The ‘Ennis Aggregate,’ herein alluded to, was one of the innumerable Aggregate Meetings *got up* in every considerable town in Ireland, at which the popular Catholic orators and leaders declaimed, in language every way calculated to alienate the affections of the people (who anxiously flocked to them) from the Government, and to destroy their confidence in the laws. Amongst the distinguished personages at these, and other public meetings, were some individuals whom the King’s clemency had allowed to *return* to, and enjoy life and property in their native land; individuals, whom though neither gratitude nor shame could restrain from proving to the world how unworthy they were of that clemency, would nevertheless have been prevented from obtruding, if not their persons, at least their sentiments, in the manner they have done, if the people of Ireland were not deprived (by the absence of so many loyal men of rank, property, educa-

tion, and influence,) of their legitimate advisers, guardians, and protectors, by which means they have become the easy dupes of discontented, ambitious, or unprincipled men.

Mr. O'Connell has of late favoured the Catholics of Ireland with annual addresses. That of January 1, 1821, commenced with, "After another year of *unjust degradation and oppression*, I again address you.....The blood runs cold and the heart withers, when we reflect on the wanton prolongation of our sufferings.....To the *severest of injuries* is added the most cruel of *insults*.....I do contend that the *Catholics deserve the palm*, in the cheering struggle which nations have made, and which, thank God, *the nations of the earth are now making for civil liberty*..... There is a *restless spirit of liberty abroad*, which, if it will submit to just, necessary, and temperate regulation, must lead to good. Let us not enter into any quarrels as to the particular *mode of Reform*, &c....Let our future purpose be the *abolition of that faction* which has plunged these countries in war—in debt—in distress—and involved Ireland in all the miseries of the union. Let us endeavour to *amalgamate* the Catholic, the Protestant, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, into *the Irishman*; let us call upon Irishmen of every description to *combine in a noble struggle for the natural and inherent rights of our now wretched country*." I am far from supposing that it was premeditated; but this address bears a striking resemblance to the addresses of the United Irishmen in 1798.

On Dec. 30, 1820, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hamilton Rowan and Lord Cloncurry, &c. were turned out of the Sessions House at Kilmainham, for endeavouring to introduce irrelevant topics into "A dutiful and loyal address to his present Majesty," which was

agreed to, and signed by the High Sheriff, Nobility, and the greater part of the Gentry and respectable Freeholders of the county of Dublin.—On the 3d of September, 1821, the day of his Majesty's departure from Ireland, Mr. O'Connell, on bended knee, presented a crown of laurel to his Majesty, at Dunleary: and at this time it was *talked of* by a few of his Majesty's most faithful subjects in their day-dreams, to present a *Crown of Emeralds* to his Majesty, and to build a *Royal Palace* in Ireland, by subscription!—And in January, 1822, Mr. O'Connell commenced his annual address to the Catholics of Ireland with the following truly loyal and conciliatory lines:

“ Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,

“ Who would be free, *themselves must strike the blow.*”

After this, who can doubt that the absence of so many of our nobility and gentry has been, and now is, of incalculable injury to the tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness of the wretched and sadly deluded people of this distracted country? Who, that is conversant with Irish affairs, but must admit the justice of the following severe observations on the class of men who fill the place of our aristocratic absentees in Irish society, and who have, unfortunately, obtained so fatal an influence over the Catholic *people*.

“ Advocates for the *liberty of the press*—they erect themselves into a Star-chamber of censorship, and call every one corrupt apostates, or place-hunters, who differ from themselves.”

“ They demand admittance into the constitution—while they are perpetually calumniating it, eulogizing all the institutions of our enemies, mourning our triumphs, and exulting in our defeats.”

“Declaiming against the penal code—they enact a tyrannical penal code of opinion;—stigmatizing seceders—they themselves secede from good conduct or good sense;—asking for advocacy, they abandon every friendship;—professing patriotism, they distract their country;—and pretending religion, they do mischief in its holy name. They are *tyrants* for *liberty*—*bigots* to *liberality*,—and *intolerant* in the cause of *toleration*.”—Prudence true Patriotism, p. 24.

“Their plea should be, not of their *force*, nor of their *numbers*, but of their *moderation*, *liberality* and *innocuous tenets*; if they prove the former, without the latter, they prove against themselves.”—A Sketch, &c. p. 52.

The bishop of Norwich, in speaking of the untoward conduct of the Irish people, at a meeting in London on the 25th March, 1822, for the education of the Irish poor, is reported to have said, that “a just, an impartial, and a conciliatory Government would make good, loyal, and devoted subjects; but that an *unjust*, *partial*, and *irritating Government* would produce *wickedness*, *disloyalty*, and *revolution*.”

With all due submission to the Right Rev. prelate, I would ask every unprejudiced reader of this work, whether the most able, just, conciliatory, and best intentioned administration that ever directed the affairs of the United Empire, could have foreseen, guarded against, and overcome the untoward current, that has for so long a period of time opposed (often in secret) the restoration of tranquillity to this unhappy land?—Men of the highest rank, the most unsullied honor, the best abilities, and purest intentions, have filled the important stations of Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary for Ire-

land. Amongst the Noblemen who have had the distinguished honor of representing their Sovereign in this country, within the last few years, are to be enumerated Cornwallis, Hardwicke, Bedford, Richmond, Whitworth, Talbot, and at present Wellesley; and, amongst a host of talented Chief Secretaries, Pelham, Castlereagh, Abbot, Wickham, Nepean, Long, Elliott, Wellington, Wellesley Pole, and Peel, &c. But although their able, praise-worthy, and persevering efforts to find out the true causes of Ireland's unhappy condition, and to render her tranquil and prosperous, have not been successful; and discontent, outrage and rebellion still continue to disgrace and distract our land, would it not be the extreme of injustice to say, that their measures were unjust, partial, and irritating? What unprejudiced and reflecting mind, after the perusal of the painful facts narrated in these pages in chronological order, for a long series of years, can believe that the crimes which at this moment pollute the south of Ireland;—and the sanguinary, illegal oaths, which have been, and are at this hour, administered in *all parts of Ireland*;—and the unceasing efforts of the Catholic peasantry of Ireland, *for many years past*, to possess themselves of arms and ammunition, even at the price of blood, and for the purpose of shedding blood;—that these have arisen from local and temporary causes? From tythes, rackrents, and middlemen; and that the ferocious confederates in guilt have no hostile intention towards the Government, Laws, or Institutions of the country; no connection with religious or political feelings. Yet all this has been said, and has been believed:Time will discover, whether there are not *dupes* as well as *traitors* in 1822, as well as in former times:—I fear there will, for, according to the documents which I have seen, the secret and sworn objects of the Ribbon-

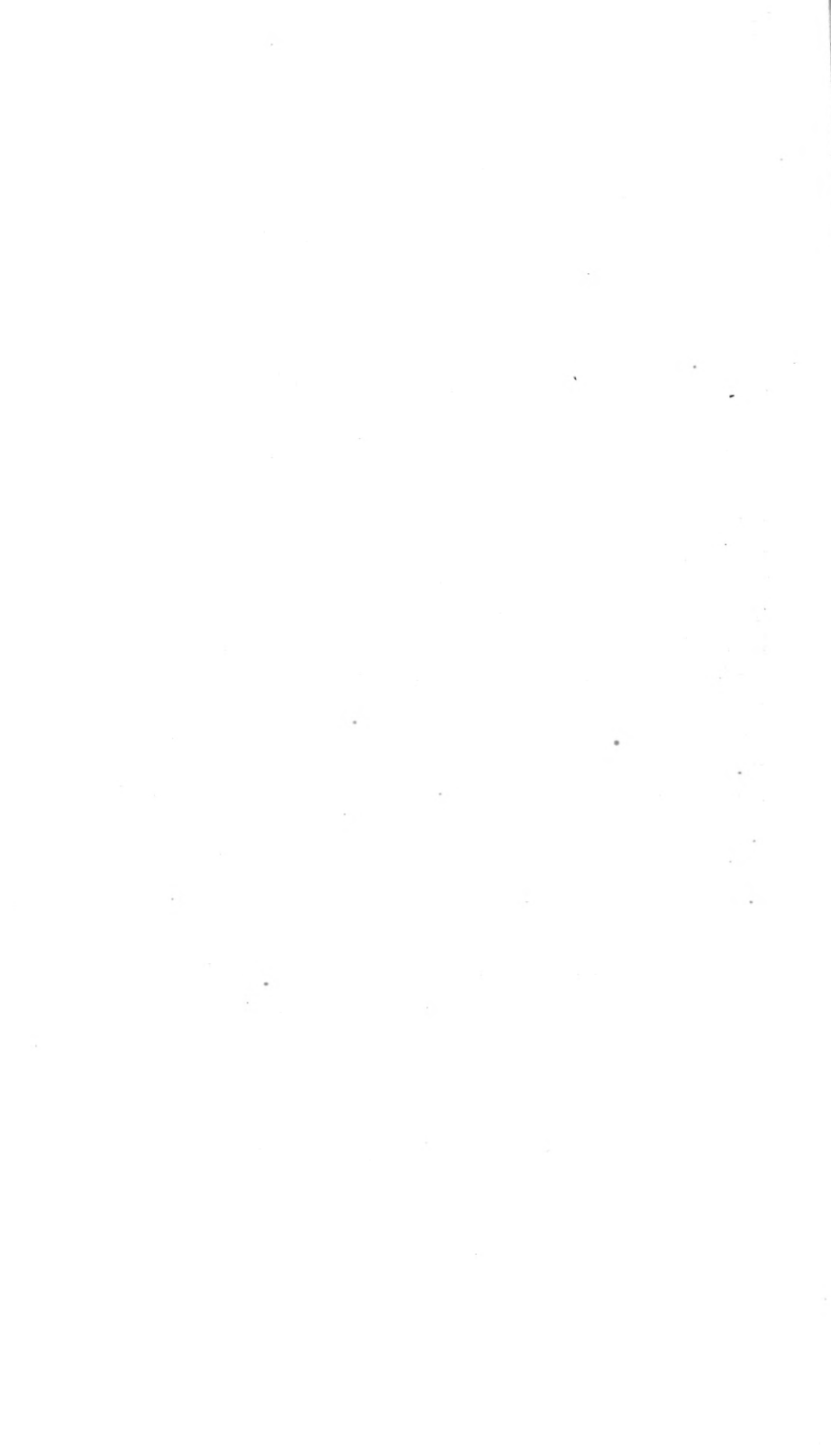
men of the present day are, "to obtain arms and ammunition, that they may free themselves from the Government of Great Britain;"—and "to spare neither person or property of those Protestant heretics who are trampling the Cross of Christ under foot, and deny our Blessed Redeemer."*—And I have no doubt that these accursed intentions have arisen from, or have been chiefly excited by, the extensive circulation of the *Prophecies of PASTORINI* amongst the peasantry of Ireland. This work was written by Mr. Walmsly, titular Dean of Wells,—was republished by the College of Maynooth,—and a Roman Catholic Priest was the editor of the 6th edition, lately published in Cork, in which was a long list of subscribers, and the name of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork at the head of it. In this book it is asserted, that "the Protestants are the locusts which ascended out of the bottomless pit—that the devil was, and is their King—that their reign will end in the year 1825, and that all who will not embrace the religion of the Church of Rome, before that period, will be destroyed."—Every possible apology is made for the bloody scenes of St. Bartholomew's day in France, and for those of 1641 in Ireland.—The work has had a more ex-

* I observed in a Note at page 24, that "prior to the Irish Rebellion in 1798, and the Insurrection of 1803, the lower classes were sober beyond all precedent:"—they are equally so at the present moment;—and it is notorious to every man in the empire, that the Irish Newspapers, for many months, have narrated only a single instance of a battle at a fair or market between two rustic hostile factions. I can now give a satisfactory reason for this departure from "customs," which have become a "second nature" with the Irish peasantry. Within these few days a Magistrate, of the highest respectability, has shewn me some papers found on the persons of Ribbonmen, amongst which were, "Resolutions" (admirable in themselves) "not to drink to intoxication;"—and, "not to quarrel or fall out with a brother, on any account; and in case there should be any difference, that then and in such case the same to be settled by two brothers."

tensive circulation than any Roman Catholic production has had for this last century. The predictions it contains have been versified, and sung, and distributed in most parts of Ireland. *Stak an Varaga* concludes with

The year twenty-three will relieve our agony ;
As St. 'John the Divine defines in his prophecy ;
The years four and five will chastise all heresy.

It is evidently to this work that the titular Bishop Tuohy alludes, in his recent address to the Catholic Clergy of his diocese (Limerick). "It is," says he, "to be sincerely hoped, that the examples already made will be sufficient to put an end to the shedding of blood and outrage ; if not, the consequences will be dreadful ; for as long as the poor misguided people listen to the evil councils and inventions of wicked men, their misery will continue. I have reason to know, that even *under the pretext of religion*, the poor credulous people are led astray by these wicked advisers, telling them prophecies and wonderful events to happen in the years 22, 23, and 24."



PART III.

SUGGESTIONS

FOR THE

RESTORATION AND MAINTAINANCE OF TRANQUILITY;
AND FOR PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY
AND HAPPINESS OF IRELAND.

“WHO will call this people civilized, or wonder that they are turbulent? Who confide in the empiric promising to cure so complicated a disease by a single specific? It is but too plain that there is something to be lamented, and if possible changed, *in the character of the nation—much in its habits—more in the accidental circumstances in which it languishes*;—and it is also evident that no individual remedy can reach and reform evils so heterogeneous. Party indeed is blind, and ignorance adventurous, but when the state of Ireland is hereafter discussed in the Imperial Senate, we trust that few may be found of the prejudiced, and none of the ignorant.”—Sketch, p. 34.

As “*Catholic emancipation*” has long been alleged to be the grand panacea for healing the public wounds, terminating our discontents, and making us united and prosperous, I shall first advert to it; and as such frequent mention has been made of Catholics and their leaders in this work, I shall confine myself as much as possible in

Catholic
Emancipa-
tion.

my observations on the subject of Emancipation, as it is familiarly called.

“The Catholics may now be divided into two classes, the one consisting of the nobility, the educated who have property, and in general, men of industrious and regular habits; the object of this party is legitimate.

The other, headed by the demagogues, who seek not that emancipation should be granted, but that it should be refused:”—these are the persons who have occasioned the principal, if not all the difficulties, in defining and settling what securities the Catholics can, and ought to give, before the remaining disqualifications which they labour under can be repealed, with safety to the Protestant establishments in church and state.

As for the much talked of *four millions of Catholics*, I do not see that they are likely to be benefitted in the manner Mr. Ensor conceives that they will be by the “restoration of their violated rights,” for emancipation will neither confer shelter, friends, or raiment, nor improve the mind or moral condition of the naked, ill-fed, uneducated Catholic peasant; though I admit that it will benefit him considerably, by depriving his pretended friends, and leaders, of a pretext hitherto inexhaustible, for inflaming his passions, misleading his judgment, and inducing him to enter into unlawful associations, for the redress of his alleged wrongs and grievances.

Mr. Pole observed in the House of Commons on the 3d Feb. 1812, that in his opinion “the Catholics have now assumed a tone, and adopted a line of conduct, which render it impossible for Parliament to alter their

condition, as long as they persist in the same course, and maintain the same menacing attitude. I do not mean to accuse the *Catholic body* itself;—my observations apply to the *Committee*; but the Committee being declared to be the organ of the whole Catholic body, they are, of course, implicated in every act of that Committee.”—Speech, p. 5.

By the Act of 1793, as was before observed, Mr. Plowden said, the state of the Catholics of Ireland *is settled*. That act gave them more than they petitioned for—what has followed? The country has never been settled from that day to this.

“ If (said one of the wisest and most prophetic Statesmen which our times have produced, the great Lord Clare) Parliament is to listen to the claims of the Popish subjects of this country, to be admitted to political power on the ground of *Right*, I desire to know where we are to make a stand?—Religion is the great bond of society, and therefore, in every civilized country, there *must be a Religion connected with the State*, and maintained by it against *all attacks and encroachments*—and therefore, I deny the *Right* of any man who *dissents* from the Religion established by the State, to *demand admission* into the State, upon which alone the Established Religion can rest for support. Should Parliament once admit the claims of Irish Papists to Political Power on the ground of *Right*, I desire to know where we are to draw a line?—If Papists have a right to sit in Parliament, they have a Right to fill every office in the State—they have a Right to pay tithes exclusively to their own Clergy: they have a Right to restore the antient pomp and splendour of their Religion: they have a Right to be governed exclusively by the laws of *their own Church*, they have a Right to seat their Bishops in the House of Lords—they have a Right to seat a Popish

Prince on the Throne—they have a Right to subvert the Established Government, and to make this a POPISH COUNTRY: *which I have little doubt is their ULTIMATE OBJECT.*”

If, however, Parliament in its wisdom should hereafter deem it just and expedient to repeal the remaining disqualifications under which the Catholics labour, it will be requisite to consider, under what restrictions can that body be admitted to equal rights and privileges with those persons who are of the Established Religion of the country?

“The Protestant, in granting political power, demands some security to prevent the Catholic making use of that power to the injury of his Religion; while the Catholic, in accepting it, requires that it should not be accompanied with any restrictions or qualifications which would give the Protestant a means of interfering with his; the principle is at both sides precisely the same; it is one of mutual non-interference. Were the Catholics situated as Protestants are, they would demand security; were the Protestants as the Catholics are, they would be jealous of interference.”

The British Government, parliament, and the public at large, are already in possession of the sentiments of the Roman Pontiff and the Society of Propaganda on the provisions of the former intended Catholic Relief Bill, and every dispassionate mind must be convinced, that it is neither the wish or the intention of the Sovereign, or Parliament, or of any liberal minded Protestant, to enact any measures that can be proved to be injurious to the religious scruples or interests of the Roman Catholics, or calculated to subvert their religion; but on the contrary,

that it must be their anxious desire to improve the political condition of the upper classes of Catholics, and the moral and personal condition of the lower classes, and thereby remove every reasonable pretext for discontent and complaint, and contribute to the general happiness and prosperity of the empire at large.—I therefore trust, that whatever further concessions Parliament in its wisdom may, at any future period, be pleased to make to the Catholics, that they will be made subject to such restrictions as they shall conscientiously deem to be just, as well as requisite (and none other I am convinced will they impose); and that both Parliament and the Government of the country will disregard all the idle, illiberal clamour that may be made by a few factious Catholic laymen, in order to excite the illiterate many into hostility to the proposed measures (whenever any shall be in contemplation), and to intimidate the Catholic Clergy and Bishops into resolutions or opinions which, if left to themselves, they would neither express or entertain.

After all, the act would be an act of qualification and invitation, not of compulsion and penalty; and as it will not be *imperative* on the Catholics to accept of political power on the terms on which it may be offered, I hope their leaders, if they do not approve of those terms, will not deem it necessary to publish manifestoes to the ‘Hereditary Bondsmen,’ urging them to “*strike the blow* that is to set them free.”*

Although I have exceeded the limit I intended to confind myself to on the subject of Emancipation, yet it is one of so much importance, and the following observa-

* Mr. O’Connell in a letter in the Evening Herald, of April 27, 1821, speaking of the “Veto Bill” says, “I speak *advisedly*, when I say, that a sanguinary insurrection would have immediately followed its enactment—a wicked, a hopeless, but a bloody insurrection.” The predicted insurrection has followed; but Mr. O’Connell must now assign it to another cause.

tions on the delicate question of the appointment of Catholic Bishops, are of so frank and manly a nature, and carry so much conviction with them, that I am convinced the reader will approve of my laying them before him, particularly as they were spoken by a Catholic gentleman of high respectability, Mr. O'Connor of Mount Druid, at a meeting of the Roman Catholics, Sept. 2, 1815.—“ I have been heretofore, myself, an enemy to any interference of the Crown in the appointment of our Bishops, because the head of our Church had, by a right of conquest, become the subject of a foreign power, hostile to this empire, because he was a state prisoner in the castle of Savona, where no direct communication could be had with him, and without the danger of schism no such interference could take place. I apprehended that a Protestant Government, vested with any right of interference, might undermine the Catholic Religion. But, upon reconsideration, and upon all the reflection I could bestow on the subject, and I have bestowed on it not a little, these *imaginary dangers* have vanished before me. The Protestant Government of Canada, vested with this right of interference, has not undermined the Catholic Religion there. The Protestant house of Brandenburg, with the same right, has not sapped the Catholic Religion in Silesia; and that religion has flourished in Russia under the interference of the Greek house of Romanow. No, Sir, the Government would not give itself the trouble of proselytizing for the Protestant Religion. You all recollect the *outcry* that was raised *by the factious in the metropolis against the establishment of Maynooth College*. Your *Bishops*, for acceding to it, were represented as having been *bribed by Government*—with having *betrayed the trust reposed in them*. It was said that, in that establishment, under the immediate control of the Lord Chancellor, the stream of catholicity would be corrupted, and that the missionaries it

would send forth would poison the purity of our faith, and inspire their flocks with contempt and hatred for the religion of their fathers. If you doubt my statement, you have only to look into Mac Nevin's pieces of Irish History. Well, the college of Maynooth has existed now one and twenty years, and the stream of Catholicity remains unpolluted, and its missionaries, I will venture to say, yield not, in sanctity of manners, purity of faith, or pastoral attention to those educated on the continent."

I hope I shall be pardoned for expressing a wish, that whenever a Catholic Relief Bill may be passed, the condition of the Catholic clergy will be bettered, and that they will be rendered less burdensome to, or independent of, their already too much impoverished people; by which means they would become more respectable and useful. In order that the Catholic leaders may not persuade the lower orders that such a measure, if it should ever be thought practicable, would render their clergy too subservient to Government, and thereby subvert their religion, I would beg leave to offer, as a mere suggestion, that such a provision for the Catholic clergy might be levied off each county at large (which would make the individual contribution light) along with the other county presentments, and it could be paid to them by the county treasurer: for I am afraid that the leaders would make the people believe that the Catholic clergy could not receive a *Regium Donum*, as the Presbyterian clergy do, without sending a *carte blanche* to the Castle for their salary.

But I should demand something from them in return for thus advancing their respectability and independence; I should say to them " You profess to be ministers of

light, not of darkness; you *should advance learning, you shall not impede it. Your tenets shall not be invaded—but your flocks shall be instructed*—the ointment producing blindness shall be used no longer. If you will not co-operate in a generous system of national education, expect no favour from the nation; you shall have none.”—Sketch p. 34.

Education
of the peasantry.

“ To the Government, I should say, educate your people;—I care not by what system, if it be capacious, nor at what cost, *if it be productive.*”

“ I would say, even to the advocates for proselytism—‘ Do not proselytize.’ Even to the zealots for Protestantism—‘ Let the people continue Catholics;’—for, ‘ it is every where in our power to promote education—even upon Catholic principles, if it cannot be otherwise, it is better than no education at all. The mere education of letters will do good, under proper direction; it will break the soil, and prepare it for further cultivation. But we have known much more than this to have been done. We have heard of one or two of the ministers of the established church, who, not content with promoting such plans of education as met the scruples of their Catholic parishioners, thought it their duty also to care for their spiritual welfare. Looking into the books of Catholic divinity, they chose some of those tracts of sublime piety with which they abound, had them printed at their own expense, and extensively distributed.”—Thoughts on Education, p. 19.

I fully agree with the “ Proposal, &c. by a Roman Catholic clergyman,” p. 28.—“ that it would be extremely beneficial to institute a Society (without religious distinction) for the promotion of religious knowledge and the

reformation of morals; to establish an annual subscription *in every dioecse* under the direction and control of this society;—to appropriate this subscription to the printing of the Holy Scriptures, and other approved religious books; to *circulate* these books, either *gratis*, or at very reduced prices, as it should seem expedient, and to take proper steps to promote the reading of them.”

I would also suggest, that it would be productive of incalculable advantage, particularly to the lower order of Catholics, if the Pope would authorize the Catholic liturgy being given in the English language, which I am of opinion his Holiness would consent to, if the matter were fairly stated by the proper authorities. Sir Thomas Bond, in his “*Pro Bono Publico*,” p. 18, ssys, “I know that Dr. Carrol of Baltimore, and Dr. Berington of Birmingham, both of them Roman Catholic bishops, have in their writings expressed a wish that the liturgy of the church of Rome was in the common language of the people. Dr. Berington goes so far as to say, that he is confident it will (at some future period) be the case, and might even now, if the Bishops would apply to the Court of Rome for that indulgence; because *it has granted* the same indulgence to the Roman Catholics of Hungary, and Transylvania.”

I fully agree with Mr. Parker, that measures ought to be taken to discourage or prevent those early and improvident marriages among the Irish poor, which produce such irretrievable misery to them:—so long as they shall be content with potatoes, rags, and a pigstye, the evil will continue to increase:—but it will cure of itself, when our absentee landlords shall return, and excite in the minds of the peasantry a laudable ambition for the decencies and *comforts* of civilized society.—When this shall

be effected, even if population should increase, emigration will not be necessary, so long as we have millions of acres uncultivated in Ireland,—as long as our fisheries are neglected,—our hills and glens remain unplanted,—our mines unexplored—and the linen manufacture so little attended to in the south of Ireland.

Whenever I reflect on the situation of the Irish 40s. freeholder, I am at a loss to conceive why the elective franchise was ever conferred on a being so illiterate, dependent, wretched, and utterly incapable of appreciating its value, or discharging, properly, the duty of an elector. In the eloquent language of the able and patriotic author of the Sketch, “We have seen, in some counties, the majority of the constituents driven, like cattle, to the hustings. We have seen them—unable even to speak English, attempt to poll in Irish. We know that these miserable creatures are weapons wielded by the gentry against each other at elections, and *by the demagogues against the gentry in rebellions*. Is this to be borne?”—If however it shall be deemed adviseable to “disfranchise the 40s. freeholders altogether, lest numerous ignorance overwhelm education and wealth,” the act must not be a solitary one; it must form part of whatever general system of policy and legislative enactments may be deemed best calculated to promote the tranquillity of Ireland, and the welfare of the empire at large.

Tythes. On the subject of tythes, “the pretence, and therefore the cause of an hundred insurrections” in Ireland, I shall be as brief as possible. I do not conceive tythe, abstractedly considered, to be either oppressive in its nature, or injurious in its consequences to the immediate occupier of the ground: though I freely admit that there must be serious vexations in the mode of collecting it, even if we

form our conclusion on the arguments of the supporters of the system as it now stands.

I do not consider tythe as oppressive, because, as Adam Smith justly observes, " Taxes upon the produce of the land are, in reality, taxes upon the rent, and though they may be originally advanced by the farmer, they are finally paid by the landlord :"—and no man can doubt that the landlord would be the only gainer by the *abolition* of tythes.

But I am convinced that though not oppressive, tythes are vexatious, from the instances which are brought forward in the works in favour of tythes, of the increased value of ground that is tythe free. The writer of an article in one of the public papers, who signs himself ' a Layman of the county of Louth,' says, " I know from good authority, that the increased rent demanded for land exempted from tythe in this very county, to have amounted to 1*l.* per acre, when the clergyman would be glad to get for the same land seven or eight shillings."

Mr. Pole, when speaking on Mr. Parnell's motion on the subject of tythes, 11th June, 1810, observed, " I asked an honorable friend of mine this morning, a part of whose estate is tythe-free, what was the difference of the rent which he received for his land that was tythe-free, and that which was not? He told me he received 10*s.* an acre more for the land that was tythe-free than he did for the other. I then asked him what was the amount of the tythe on that part of his land of equal quality, and contiguous to the other, which was subject to it? He said about fourteen pence an acre."

“What, let me ask, is the benefit which Scotland derives from thus limiting the incomes of her clergy? Her rents are higher, in proportion to the value of the land, than even in Ireland, where rack-rents are complained of so much. I understand from very respectable authority, that good arable land, though not favored by proximity to towns, sets for £7. per acre, Scotch measure, that is about £9. the Irish acre. Such is the effect, as to the tenantry, of exemption from tythe.”—An Inquiry whether the Disturbances in Ireland have originated in Tythes, p. 23.*

The conviction of my mind is, that the tythe-system might be materially improved, to the mutual advantage and satisfaction of both clergy and laity, if it were referred to a select Committee of the House of Commons:—the committee would, at least, give the subject the most mature consideration, and offer some valuable suggestions, even if the inquiry should not be productive of such immediate and extensively beneficial results as some persons are sanguine enough to imagine it would be;—to such persons, and to the advocates for the *abolition* of tythes, I should wish to make known the valuable caution conveyed in the speech of the present Attorney General of Ireland to the Grand Jury of Sligo, in 1806, on the trial of the *Threshers*:—“They say they rise to redress grievances (amongst which were tythes). But, Gentlemen, there is a mode known to the constitution of redressing grievances, and there is no law to prevent men from stating them; there is a legal mode of claiming relief. This I will say, that the *Constitution of the Church*

* On the subject of Tythes, see also Mr. Giattan's speech, 14th February, 1788. “Commutation of Tythe by an acreable charge, &c.,” 1816.—“A Letter from an Irish Dignitary to an English Clergyman, 1822.”

is intimately connected with *the Constitution of the State*; it is a part of the same fabric, which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and if there be any thing imperfect in it, no reflecting man will approach it for the purpose of alteration *without extreme caution*; he will be careful in the attempt to remedy its imperfections, not to affect the substance, or even the proportion, or beauty of the ornaments."

After the most mature deliberation on all the circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the innumerable illegal associations which have been noticed in this work;—and on the habits and condition of the peasantry of Ireland at the present day, it is with extreme regret I feel myself called upon to express my conviction, that, as the Insurrection Act is intended for the *prevention* rather than the *punishment* of crime, it would be of advantage to the community that it should be enacted for seven years (as the arms, gunpowder and ammunition act has been)—I say enacted,—not enforced—for I am convinced that the outrages which now devastate the south of Ireland would not have arisen to their present height, if the Government of Ireland could have resorted, as soon as was absolutely necessary, to the provisions of the Insurrection Act; the only measure which has hitherto been found effectual for protecting the lives and property of the loyal, peaceable, and well-disposed part of the community from the atrocities of mob legislatures—noon day assassins—and midnight murderers and incendiaries: the ordinary forms of law have never yet been able to put down the illegal associations and outrages of men whose minds and habits are so brutalized as to despise all laws, divine and human.

A general police will also be necessary for all Ireland, I fear, for some few years to come:—(which would save the

Insurrection Act.

A general police.

expense of baronial constables, who are nearly useless in many counties:)—a number of men, admirably calculated for the purpose, might be selected and embodied out of our naval and military pensioners, (who are spread over all parts of Ireland) at a trifling additional allowance to the amount of their daily pensions. A force purely military can never effect the services that such a body of men can render. In Henry the Seventh's time Sir E. Poynings "caused the Marchers to book their men, for whom they should answer." In the reign of Henry the Eighth Sir Henry Sidney required five of the best persons of every sept to bring in all the *idle persons* of their surname to be justified by the law.—But it was in James's time that the only effectual means were discovered, and put in force, for checking and putting down rebellions in their commencement; for Sir John Davis, the invaluable Attorney General of that monarch in Ireland, informs us (p. 201) that "whereas, the greatest advantage that the Irish had of us in all their rebellions, was our ignorance of their countries, their persons, and their actions;—since the *law and her ministers* have had a passage among them, all their places of fastness have been discovered and laid open; all their places cleared; and *notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known, not only how they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do.*"

Severe, as I acknowledge these measures to be, I am as strongly convinced of the *justice*, as I am of the *necessity* of them;—and I believe them to be the only *effectual* means for the *speedy suppression*, if not the *prevention*, of all such ferocious associations as those which now desolate the south of Ireland;—and that in *conjunction* with measures of a conciliatory tendency—the general diffusion of education—and judicious and persevering efforts

for bettering the condition of the peasantry;—they would so rapidly civilize and improve the lower orders, that in a short time the coercive regulations might safely be repealed.

But neither coercive nor conciliatory measures,—nor unqualified emancipation of the Catholics,—nor the abolition of tythes, rents, or taxes;—nor all these combined, even if they were beneficial and practicable in their nature, will restore this country to tranquillity, and render her great, prosperous, and happy, so long as so considerable a proportion of the upper and educated classes of society, the links between the Government and the people, shall continue aliens to their native land;—those whose duty to God, to their country, and to their dependants, it is, to protect the illiterate, bigotted and wretched peasantry from the all-powerful but deceitful excitement of their benighted and perverted minds, as well as from the insidious designs of ambitious and unprincipled men;—and to explain the laws of society and of the land, and the advantages of order, civilization, and obedience to those laws; and to enforce their precepts by their own example, so as to induce the lower orders to “learn and labour, and conduct themselves aright in that state of life in which it hath pleased Divine Providence to place them.” But, while our absentee proprietors have neglected their duty, the *enemy* has been busy;—and unwatched, or unchecked, he has picked up the greater part of the seed that had fallen on good ground, and in lieu thereof has sowed the tares of discontent, sedition and anarchy amongst the illiterate, wretched, and long neglected peasantry of Ireland.

Ought these things to continue so? Every just and generous mind indignantly replies, “certainly not.” But

although this has long been admitted, and that it has also been generally allowed, that an Absentee Tax is the only measure likely to induce some of our innumerable absentees to return to Ireland, or to render their absence less injurious in its direct and remote consequences to the peace and welfare of it; still it has not, of late years, been deemed an advisable (or at least, not a practicable) measure: it was, however, not only found *necessary*, but *practicable*, in former times, and was carried into execution with a severity which shews that the evil was considered to be of so serious a nature as not only to affect the tranquillity and prosperity of the country, but to endanger the very existence of British power and influence in Ireland. Sir John Davis tells us, p. 164, "That touching the absence of the great lords, all writers do impute the *decay and loss of Leinster to the absence of the English lords*, who married the five daughters of Wm. Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. These great lords having greater inheritances in their own right in England than they had in Ireland by right of their wives, (and yet each of the co-partners had an entire county allotted for her property, as is before declared) could not be drawn to make their *personal residence* in this kingdom, but managed their estates here by their seneschals and servants. The consequence was, that Richard

Statute of
Richard II.
against Absentees.

the Second found it necessary "to have a statute made against absentees, commanding all such as had land in Ireland to return and reside thereupon, upon pain to *forfeit two third parts thereof* unto the King until they returned, or placed a sufficient number of men to defend the same," which ordinance was put in execution for many years after, as appeareth by sundry seizures made thereupon in the time of King Richard the Second, and the 4th, 5th, and 6th Henries. And afterwards, upon the same reason of state, *all the lands* of the house of Norfolk, of Shrewsbury, the Lord Berkley and others, who having

lands in Ireland, kept their continual residence in England, were entirely resumed by the *Act of Absentees* made in the ^{And of} Henry 8th. 28th of Henry 8th."

On the 15th of February of the present year, 1822, the Marquess of Londonderry stated in the House of Commons, that "the vote for the extraordinary expenses growing out of the disturbed state of Ireland, will be £350,000. for the current year." Now, I wish to know whether the present disturbances would have arisen,—or would have extended themselves to such an appalling magnitude as to require such expensive measures for their suppression, if our absentees had resided in Ireland, and had discharged their several duties, political, magisterial, moral, and religious? And whether they have contributed, or are likely to contribute, by direct or indirect taxation, towards defraying this extra expense of £350,000. by which their property is preserved from a desperate banditti, and their agents are enabled to receive and remit those rents on which many of them live in affluence in *foreign countries*?—Certainly not.—I admit that their rental is lessened by the poverty of their tenantry and the spread of disturbance—but they receive it free from taxation; whereas the resident landed proprietors have not only contributed towards the exigencies of the State by the payment of heavy taxes, (rendered durably heavy in consequence of the repeated augmentations of the rates, owing to their unproductiveness,—arising from the non-residence of that class best calculated to pay them) but several of them have also risked, and lost, their lives in their efforts to maintain the due administration of the laws. Every just mind must admit that so partial and unjust a system of taxation ought to be remedied. But how is this to be effected, it will be asked? By a measure which will be easy in its operation, and just in its principles, and that will be productive of important advan-

tages in its political as well as its financial results; and will be doubly operative in its effects, by rendering residence in Ireland advantageous, and non-residence disadvantageous. The measure I propose is to *abolish the assessed taxes* in Ireland in toto—on windows, hearths, carriages, servants, dogs, &c. &c.; which, on an average of the last four years, have produced only £365,000. per annum, (paid by the resident part of the community) and in lieu thereof to have an equitable, and graduated, property and income tax, *suited to the actual state of society in Ireland*, and such as shall not impede the future prosperity of the country;—it ought, therefore, to be lightly imposed on the income derived from trade, and agricultural pursuits. I should imagine that the Commissioners of excise and taxes, if the assessed taxes were abolished, would be able to superintend the collection and management of this tax:—the most intelligent and meritorious of the present tax officers could be usefully employed, if the measure here proposed should be carried into effect;—and those whose services were not in the first instance wanted, might be superannuated, and afterwards employed on full pay, as occasion required.

The advantages of the proposed measure would be, that it is equitable in its nature and operation;—that it reaches the income derived from funded property, as well as the income derived from this country, and spent out of it by absentees (under which head I should consider every Irish proprietor not resident in Ireland six months in the year);—that each individual would know the precise amount of the per centage he would have to pay in direct taxation to the Crown, and could indulge his taste, or convenience, in the number of his hearths, windows, carriages, servants, &c. to any extent he pleased,

and his house and offices, as in the olden time, would be his castle, free from the intrusion and inquisitorial searching of tax assessors.

As the Legislature has the power of increasing the rates of the taxes according to the increase in the number of hearths, windows, &c.—and as it also possesses the power of determining the rate per cent. which property or income shall pay according to its progressive increased amount, (for instance 2 per cent. on £200. a year ; 3 per cent. on £300. &c.) I maintain that it can also regulate, if it shall be deemed just and adviseable, that the income or property of non residents shall be subject to a greater per centage than that of residents:—I sincerely hope that it will be doubled on non-residents.

In the “ Absentee ” it is estimated that two millions, and by Mr. Parker that four millions, per annum, are derived from this country, and spent out of it by absentees ; a tax of 10 per cent. in the lowest of these estimates would produce £200,000., therefore a very moderate per centage on the property and income of the resident Irish would produce considerably more than the difference between this sum and the amount derived from the assessed taxes:—it will therefore become doubly the interest of the absentee to reside in Ireland ; for by doing so he will pay a less income tax, and be exempt from all the assessed taxes he is subject to in England. I am humbly of opinion that this suggestion might also be acted on in Great Britain with advantage to the revenue and to the subject:—and in the event of a future war rendering it necessary that the rate per cent. should be increased, the amount and effect of such increase can be calculated on, both by the contributors and the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

with a precision not to be attained by the present mode of increasing the several rates of assessed taxes.

Encourage-
ment of li-
censed, and
suppression
of illicit
distillation.

From the observations which were made on the subject of illicit distillation in Part II. of this work, the reader, no doubt, is fully impressed with a sense of the numerous ill consequences to the revenue, and the morals of the people of Ireland, occasioned by it. I am fully aware that the suggestions I am about to offer are adventurous in their nature, but I shall give them, in the hope that my doing so may excite more able heads to devise better regulations. I would recommend either a considerable reduction in the duty on whiskey,—or, that instead of having three classes of gaugers, with inspectors, &c. to keep constant but ineffectual watch on the distiller, that a schedule should be made out, fixing the precise amount of duty that should be paid weekly, during a certain part of the year, by the owner of a still of 50, 100, 200, 500 gallons, &c. on his giving sufficient bond for the working a still of the licensed content, and no other, and for the weekly payment of such duty;—the bond to be enforced, or license withheld, in the event of non-payment of duty, until such duty shall be paid; and penalty of bond enforced, and license for ever withdrawn on proof of fraud having been committed, and to be charged with the estimated extent thereof from the date of license. The only check I would subject the distiller to should be the frequent inspection of an excise officer of the first class (at pleasure), to see that a still of the licensed contents, only, was made use of.

I offer this measure as a mere suggestion for the consideration of practical men, from a conviction that the honest licensed distiller cannot, under the existing excise regulations and high duty on whiskey, supply the market at such a price as will keep the illicit distiller

out of it; and that if he should therefore be induced to put the usual means for defrauding the revenue into execution, the officers of the Crown, however vigilant, cannot entirely prevent him from doing so;—and instances have occurred where needy or unprincipled gaugers have connived at frauds. But, under the proposed system, he would be freed from many arbitrary and unsatisfactory laws and regulations, and would work upon the precise and easy conditions of using his licensed still, and no other, and paying a certain stipulated sum to the Crown weekly, which would leave to him every fair advantage he could derive from superior ability, or experience, in the manufacture of a spirit superior in quality, and equal in quantity,—or greater in quantity and equal in quality to what his professional rivals could produce on the same terms. It will be said that the licensed distiller would find this system a profitable one;—be it so—the Crown would not be a loser—for the number of licensed distillers would increase, and illicit distillation would decline in proportion; for the licensed distillers, to guard their interest or monopoly, would suggest to Government measures for the suppression of illicit trade, far more effectual in their consequences than the Government will ever be able to discover, so long as the licensed distiller has an interest in evading payment of the duty on the surplus quantity of spirit he can produce from his still beyond what is imposed by the law. If the distillers should derive too much advantage from the weekly rate of duty first struck, the rate could be augmented to its just amount.

Whilst treating on the fiscal regulations of Ireland I would beg leave to suggest, that an abatement in the rate of the duty on tobacco in Ireland would be productive of the most beneficial results to the revenue, A reduction of the duty on tobacco proposed.

the Government, the tranquillity and morals of the people of this country. Twenty years ago, when the duty on this article was 1s. the pound, $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of pounds weight paid duty per annum; but since the duty has been augmented to 4s. per pound, very little more than half of this quantity has paid duty;—the consequence has been, that smuggling has increased to an alarming extent: for, in the six years preceding 1818, the value of all the articles seized by the officers of customs in Ireland averaged only £10,000. per annum, but since that year they have increased to £30,000. £54,000. £107,000. and I have been informed that no less than *eight-tenths* of this produce of seizures was derived from *tobacco*; and that the expense of the Irish Preventive Water Guard for the prevention of smuggling amounted to £86,000 last year. I am sure it will not be necessary to say more in favor of a reduction of the duty on tobacco, or of any other measure, that by *removing or lessening the temptation to smuggle*, shall induce the peasantry of this country to desist from associating in hundreds, and opposing by force of arms the endeavours of the officers of the Revenue to prevent the illegal landing of goods subject to duty.

Want of capital in Ireland.

The want of capital has greatly impeded the commercial, manufacturing, mining, and agricultural prosperity of Ireland; and the failure of no less than *ten* private banks within these few years, has plunged the country into great distress, the more so as their excessive issue of paper had previously created a material but artificial advance in the price of land and of every other article; and the existing private banking establishments, in consequence of their approaching liability to be called upon to give specie for their notes, are obliged to limit the issue of them within the bounds that their own interest points out as beneficial, and are prevented from affording

that extensive, just, and necessary assistance which the country at large, and the agricultural interest in particular, in its present depressed state, stands so greatly in need of.

I regret that the linen manufacture is not more generally attended to in the South of Ireland. A single glance at the melancholy contrast between the state of the South and of the North of Ireland, must present a crowd of reflections to the mind of the reader.

Some of the observations and the measures recommended in this work may appear to be severe, and others, perhaps, visionary or impracticable; but I can with truth assure the reader, that they have been given to the public free from any personal or party motive, with an anxious wish for the restoration and preservation of tranquillity,—for the improvement of the intellectual, moral, political, and social condition of the *people* of Ireland,—and the advancement of the individual as well as national happiness, honor, and prosperity. The attainment of these desirable objects, and not the exaltation or triumph of one party at the expense of another, or the subversion of the Catholic religion, must also be the earnest wish of our gracious Sovereign, of his Ministers, of Parliament, and of every well educated and liberal minded man in the empire. 'The monarch is the father of all his subjects, and it must be the first object of his heart to see *all* his people united, prosperous, and happy. We have too long been wayward and disobedient, and I have had the painful task of narrating the various instances of our untowardness, but I have done it with a view that we might have a due sense of the extent and enormity of them, and profit by the warning they convey to us, "not to become the willing instruments of the schemes of disaffected mountebanks

and our own destruction," for they have brought only guilt, punishment, ruin, unavailing regret, and innumerable other ill consequences on those who have engaged in them. I have endeavoured, to the best of the ability with which it has pleased the Divine Author of our Being to bestow upon me, to point out such measures as, to my humble judgment, appear best calculated to prevent a recurrence of disturbance and illegal association, and to promote the welfare and happiness of my countrymen:—it remains for superior talents to decide upon the success or failure of my endeavours, and to improve upon my suggestions;—and for those persons who form the executive Government of the British Empire to decide on, and to carry into effect, such measures as promise to be practically beneficial; with judgment unbiassed by prejudice, and courage superior to popular clamour. I have considered Ireland in the light of a long neglected or ill cultivated farm, of a soil so fruitful as to be capable of producing every thing the wants of man can require, but overrun with weeds and brambles; and that if well weeded and fenced, would return a generous, skilful, patient, and persevering cultivator an hundred fold the amount of what he would have the good sense to lay out upon it, with a liberal hand, guided by a sound judgment. It is of the utmost importance to create, and in time, and with the assistance of our absentee proprietors, it would not be difficult to create in the people of Ireland "that love of justice and true perception of it, that obedience to the laws, that respect for authority—which were, and which are, in an eminent manner, the peculiar characteristics of the people of England. They go to build up that high prosperity, that comfort, security and abundance, which surround this people, and which, excluding every strong temptation to crime, leave the individual to collect round himself those feelings of *personal respect* and *national importance*, which, elevating the general tone of mind even of the lowest

ranks of society, place them beyond the meanness and the guilt of petty delinquencies.”—Thoughts on Education, p. 6.

When these desirable objects shall be attained,—with moderate taxation, and the introduction and benefit of British capital, enterprize, and perseverance,—suitable education generally diffused amongst the people—the laws of God and of our Country respected, and cheerfully obeyed;—IRELAND will become great, flourishing, and happy, beyond the expectations of her most sanguine friends, but not beyond the ardent wish and fervent prayer of the writer of these pages,—THE GLORY OF HER SONS—THE PRIDE OF HER SOVEREIGN—AND THE RIGHT ARM OF THE MATCHLESS UNITED EMPIRE.

THE END.

R

